THE NEW DEMOCRAT

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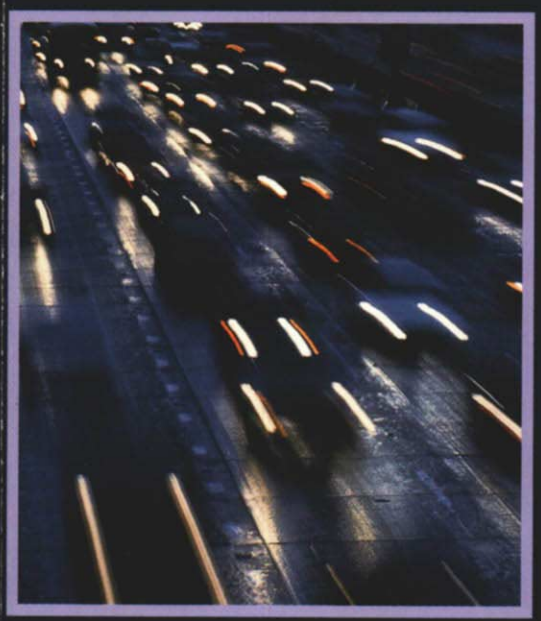
FALL 2000

BLUEPRINT

IDEAS FOR A NEW CENTURY

QUALITY OF LIFE

sprawl • smog • congestion • crime • sex on TV • work-family stress



The new battleground of American politics

SEN. JOE LIEBERMAN on television's excesses
REP. EARL BLUMENAUER on livable communities
GOV. ROY E. BARNES on regional growth
MAYOR JOHN O. NORQUIST on tearing down roads
SPECIAL REPORT ON THE WORKING FAMILY:
Time with family, marketing to children, after-school programs, and unions on time off.
PLUS: Mondale, Dukakis, Strommer, Aird, Siegel, Marshall & Penn's Poll

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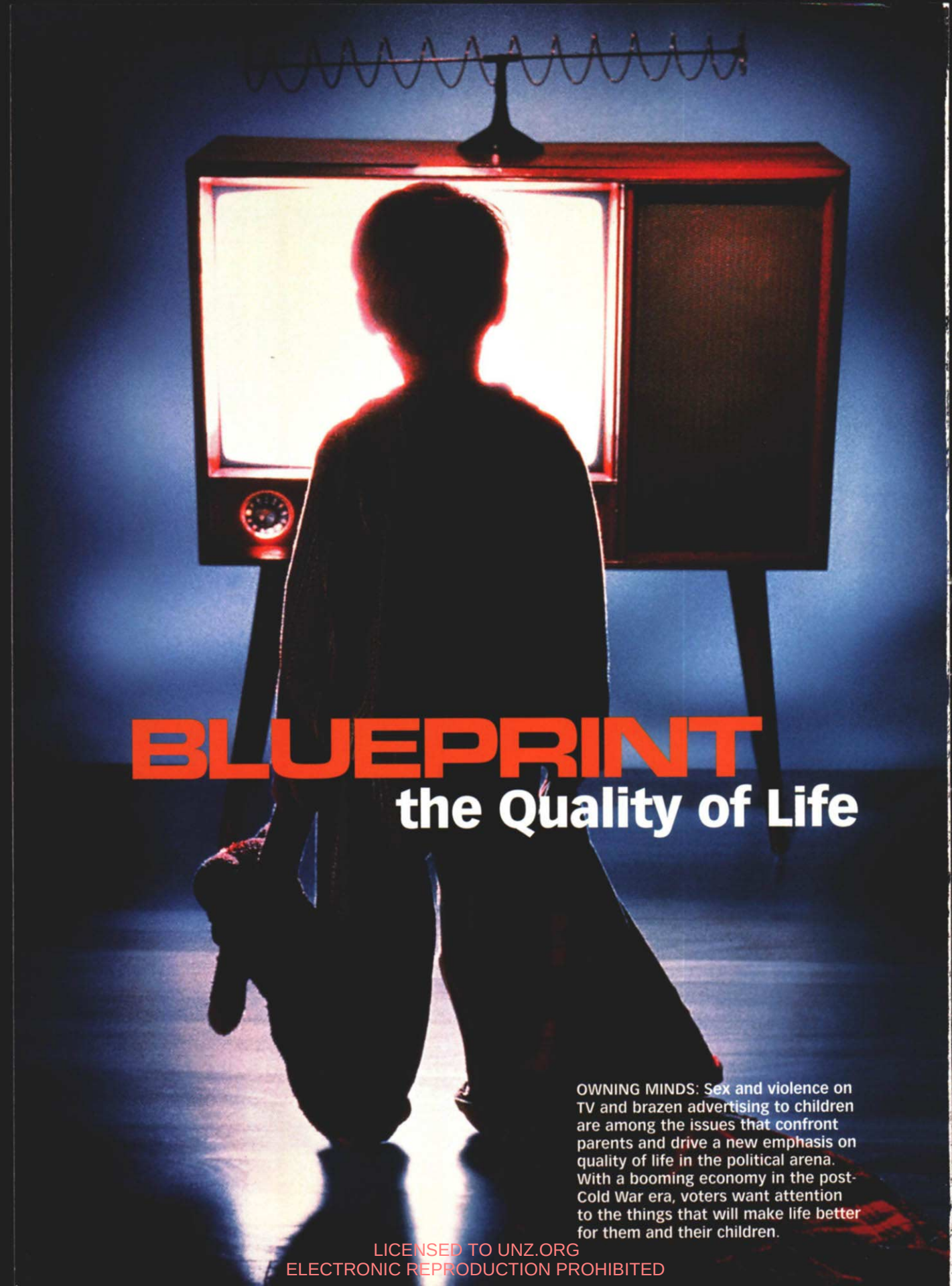

BLUEPRINT
the Quality of Life

OWNING MINDS: Sex and violence on TV and brazen advertising to children are among the issues that confront parents and drive a new emphasis on quality of life in the political arena. With a booming economy in the post-Cold War era, voters want attention to the things that will make life better for them and their children.

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THE NEW DEMOCRAT
BLUEPRINT

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It's the quality of life, stupid!

That's the saying around the office of Georgia Governor Roy E. Barnes. It's the motto of a politician who learned early that he needed to put smog, sprawl, and fast growth — all of which have gripped booming Atlanta in recent years — at the top of his agenda. In this BLUEPRINT, he tells how he's attacking the problem through a powerful new regional planning authority.

This magazine is dedicated to Barnes' proposition that quality of life issues must be at the center of any new politics for the 21st century. These issues have moved from the background to the foreground of American politics, write Fred Siegel and Will Marshall, for three reasons: the decentralizing tendencies of the New Economy, the continued surge of people and jobs to the suburbs, and the rise of an increasingly affluent class of "knowledge workers."

Along with education, health care, and success in the New Economy (all topics of recent issues of BLUEPRINT), enhancing Americans' quality of life is the key challenge for today's policymakers.

Our writers address these issues head-on. Oregon Rep. Earl Blumenauer tells us how to build livable communities. John O. Norquist, the popular and innovative mayor of Milwaukee, shows how removing old city freeways can immensely enhance livability. Robert D. Atkinson, of our own Progressive Policy Institute (PPI), talks about building more roads *and* driving less as solutions to gridlock.

PPI's Debra S. Knopman, in turn, shows how to limit smog with emissions trading — a cutting-edge, market-driven approach to the problem that is choking both the cities and the countryside.

Crime, and the false sense of security that some of our recent encouraging statistics may create, are discussed by the University of Pennsylvania's John J. DiIulio Jr. and Rutt Bridges of Denver's Bighorn Center for Public Policy.

Yet for many voters it's not roads or criminals that matter most, but *family*. In our special report on the work-family squeeze, we've brought together thoughtful writers on the issues that, well, drive parents crazy: salacious TV, exploitative marketing to children, lack of after-school programs, finding affordable housing, and, perhaps most important, balancing time between work and family. Even the American labor unions, we report, are now clamoring for time off as much as for increased wages.

And, as always, Penn's Poll tells us why and how much voters care about these issues. The voters, of course, get their say in November. Watch the quality of life vote, and count yourself smart.

—Peter Ross Range

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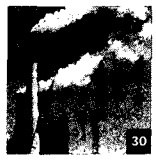

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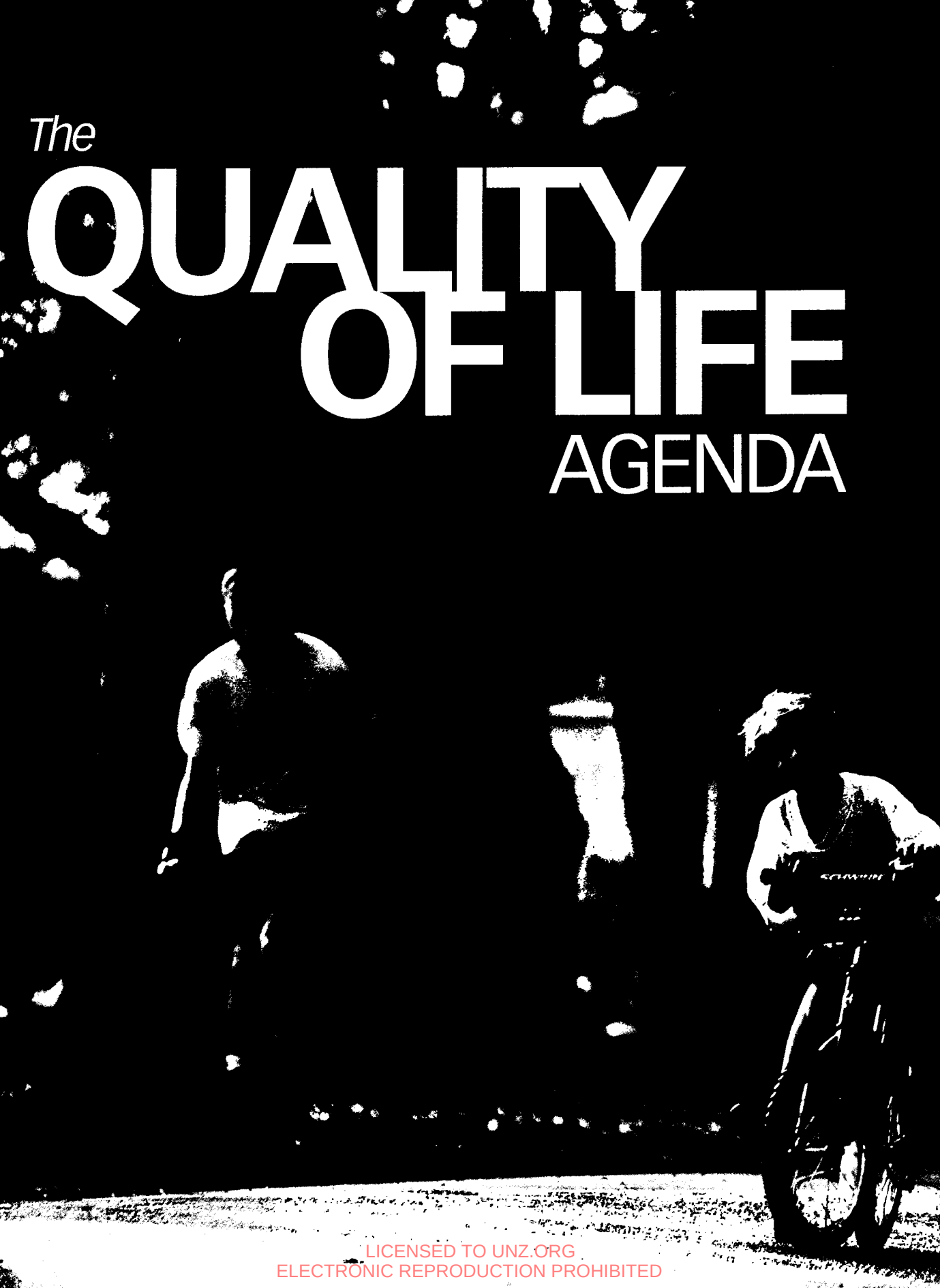

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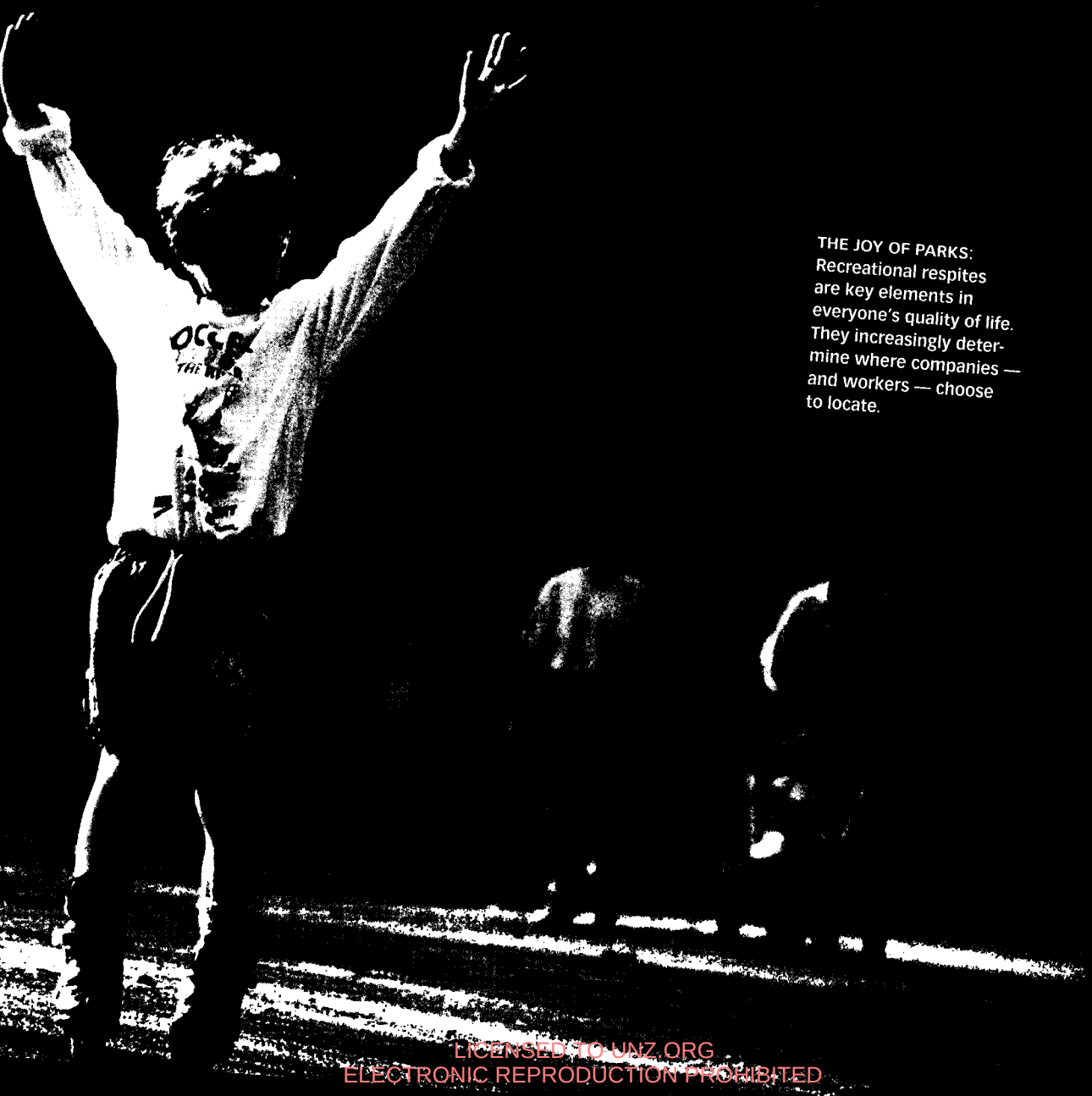
Voters want livable communities, clean air, smart growth, safe streets and schools — and relief from the work-family crunch.

by Fred Siegel & Will Marshall



THE JOY OF PARKS: Recreational respites are key elements in everyone's quality of life. They increasingly determine where companies — and workers — choose to locate.

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Where are the grand political passions of yesteryear? The Cold War is history, the New Economy is rekindling mass upward mobility, and the social upheavals of past decades are subsiding. Some commentators fret that peace and prosperity have drained U.S. politics of drama.

Look closer to home, however, and you'll see a new set of issues roiling the political waters: sprawl and disappearing open spaces, clogged roads and smog, overcrowded and underperforming schools, guns and youth violence, an acute shortage of affordable housing, the time crunch on parents juggling work and family, and the fear that popular culture is warping our children's values. We call these concerns the "quality of life agenda."

Why are these issues so prominent today? Perhaps because Washington actually did some things right in the last decade. "We've taken care of matters like a balanced budget and welfare reform, and now people are more concerned about quality of life issues, education, and transportation," says Rep. Johnny Isakson, a moderate Republican from suburban Atlanta who won Newt Gingrich's former congressional seat.

Most Washington insiders, however, disparage quality of life concerns as fleeting or even frivolous. Just wait until the next recession or international crisis, they say, and no one will be talking about sprawl or snarled traffic anymore, but about real pocketbook and security issues. Others dismiss today's ferment over livability as a selfish plot by "Range Rover Republicans" and "Martha Stewart Democrats" to pull up the mobility ladder now that they've got their patch of the American dream.

But it would be a huge political mistake for progressives to ignore or trivialize the quality of life agenda. In fact, these issues are likely to remain front and center because they reflect big and irreversible changes in American life. These include the New Economy with its empowering technologies and networks; the shift in economic dynamism as well as population from the city centers to the metropolitan periphery; the entry of women into the workforce and the dramatic growth of affluent, two-earner families; the persistence of youth violence; and the increasingly global reach of mass entertainment media that aggressively market sex and violence to the young. Far from being a political sideshow, the quality of life agenda is where many of the big economic and non-economic issues converge.

This complex of issues upends the conventional political calculus of both liberals and conservatives. Republicans in Washington routinely oppose government intervention in private economic decisions, but many of their suburban counterparts support "smart growth" laws that slap controls on developers as well as initiatives that use public money to buy and preserve open land. Unlike their "leaders" in Washington, they also want stricter enforcement of gun and environmental laws.

If Republicans are whip-sawed between their laissez-faire ideology and their demands for government help in dealing with quality of life issues, Democrats traditionally have viewed the cities rather than the suburbs as their "base." Far from sympathizing with suburban angst, liberal elites castigate families for "abandoning" the cities and thereby "seceding" from public life even as upwardly mobile minorities and immigrants increasingly join the exodus to the suburbs. Likewise, environmentalist activists block new roads even as growth overtaxes the old infrastructure and the dispersed nature of the New Economy makes it harder to shift from cars to mass transit or other forms of transportation.

But many New Democrats, most notably President Clinton, understand that because the suburbs have become the battleground of American politics, quality of life issues have moved to the center of the agenda. They recognize that progressives cannot deny these concerns, as many on the right do, or dismiss them as the symptoms of "affluenza," as many on the left do. These Democrats are gravitating toward a Third Way that promotes smart

"Because the suburbs have become the battleground of American politics, quality of life issues have moved to the center of the agenda. Progressives cannot deny these concerns, as many on the right do, or dismiss them as the symptoms of 'affluenza,' as many on the left do."

Fred Siegel is a New York-based senior fellow at the Progressive Policy Institute and the author of The Future Once Happened Here: New York, D.C., L.A. and The Fate of America's Big Cities *(Encounter Press, 2000). Will Marshall is president of the Progressive Policy Institute.*

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GOBBLING GROUND: Sprawl, like this housing development in Orange County, Calif., eats open space, clogs roads, and stresses infrastructure. Leapfrog developments jump over land that could be developed contiguous to older neighborhoods.

growth as well as creative public activism aimed at improving the quality of life for all Americans. Vice President Gore's "livability" agenda, which encourages regional efforts to prevent leapfrog development and lends communities money to buy up farmland, points in the right direction.

It's important for progressives to recognize that sprawl is part of the price we're paying for something new on the face of the earth: the creation of the first mass upper middle class (UMC). In his new book *Bobos in Paradise*, David Brooks argues that these highly affluent Americans represent a distinct new class that increasingly defines our age. The Bobos (short for Bourgeois Bohemians), he says, "are the new establishment." Their "hybrid culture" of a semi-bohemian lifestyle and a bourgeois work ethic "will be setting the tone for a long time to come."

The 1960s Boomers, who nearly capsized every institution they entered, were the first wave of this new population. As they aged and became DINK (dual income/no kids) households and then Yuppies before entering full-fledged Bobodom, their bohemianism brought an unprecedented creativity to the business world. In the knowledge economy, where creative energy is the key to a company's success, the talented people who can create products have become the most important factor of production.

America has always had a professional and small-business class, but as our economy moved from the industrial to the post-industrial age those two categories not only grew but were massively augmented by a vast expansion of college-educated knowledge workers. Over the last 30 years, the percentage of Americans with four-year college degrees doubled, to 28 percent. At the same time, the middle class has hollowed out, not because Americans are getting poorer (the U.S. poverty rate is at a 19-year low) but because they're getting richer. In 1982, approximately 2 million households had incomes of more than $100,000 in today's dollars. Today there are nearly 10 million UMC households with more than a $100,000 income. Just as it has played a central role in shaping the New Economy, the upper middle class is beginning to transform America's political landscape. A new class configuration is eclipsing the old blue collar/white collar divisions of the industrial era.

In the 19th century, the combination of industrialization and urbanization created the urban working class. The rise and incorporation of the working class drove American politics for three-quarters of a century. The great issue of the period from 1885 to 1965 was "the labor question." In 1936 when the New Deal harnessed the urban labor vote, President Roosevelt marched to a landslide victory that defined the political landscape for nearly a half-century. But by the 1950s blue collar upward mobility had taken the starch out of socialism and the left wing of the New Deal. By the 1980s, when Republicans won the presidency with the support of the Reagan Democrats, the old Roosevelt Democrats had tied their fortunes to a declining population.

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The new mass UMC, based not on inherited wealth and position but on achievement and educational credentials, likewise undermines conventional political positions. Socially liberal and economically conservative, exactly the opposite of the Reagan Democrats, the UMC voters, regardless of party, insist on placing quality of life issues on the political agenda.

Nonetheless, the fierce competition for talent and the rise of the UMC have begun to raise questions about the fairness of the meritocracy the upper middle class has helped create. For one thing, its members are now so large a population, so self-contained in their massive islands of affluence, that they seem cut off from the concerns of other Americans. Trade unionists and others with more traditional moralities tend to find the Bobo positions on trade and globalization self-serving and suffocating. The critics claim that inequality and a downwardly mobile working class are the underside of upper middle class political and cultural dominance.

FAMILY STRESS: In many families today, both parents work and feel they have too little time with their children. With more pro-fatherhood policies, men could take advantage of family leave to bridge the parenting gap.

In fact, the New Economy has begun to reverse the inequality and wage stagnation that hit non-college workers hard from the late 1970s to the mid-1990s. Nonetheless, it is important to recognize that the suburbs are not populated exclusively by upscale Bobos. In *America's Forgotten Majority: Why the White Working Class Still Matters*, Ruy Teixeira and Joel Rogers take on this myth:

"The conventional view of the suburban electorate — affluent soccer moms, executive dads, and so on — is drawn from wealthy suburban towns like Bethesda [Md.] and Fair Lawn [N.J.], and it doesn't come close to presenting an accurate picture. The suburban electorate is in fact composed mostly of members of the forgotten majority: two-earner families of low to moderate education and income, generally working in low-level white-collar, service and skilled blue-collar jobs."

Teixeira and Rogers further maintain that this "forgotten working class" is the swing vote in American politics and that to win it back Democrats must return to large-scale and universal government programs, such as national health care. Both propositions are dubious. While it is true that most Americans lack a college degree, many have some college and among those who vote there is a clear bias up the education and income scale. Non-college voters have generally been skeptical of big government and were strong advocates of a balanced budget. Nor do they simply "vote their pocketbooks;" social and moral concerns also powerfully shape their decisions.

There's no return to traditional blue collar politics for the Democrats. Old-fashioned "class warfare" politics is out of sync with the problems produced by the New Economy. Rather than pit upscale and downscale suburbanites against each other, New Democrats should help them fashion remedies to the problems they face in common.

Take transportation, for example. The "waitress mom" in suburban New Jersey who has half an hour tacked on to her drive home to pick her children up from daycare because

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she can't even get onto the main highway is as likely to be concerned with congestion and sprawl as the most avid environmentalist. Similarly, the parent from inner-city Philadelphia who does a "reverse commute" to a job in the suburban King of Prussia mall is just as keenly aware as any suburban mom of the difficulty of getting around in an increasingly dispersed economy.

Our intensely competitive, meritocratic society generates enormous anxiety among parents at all income levels. Faced with a churning New Economy in which long-term job security is evaporating, they see their children's education through the prism of their own job worries. Parents know that only through more rigorous education and continuous learning will their children be able to either match or exceed their own economic status. The upshot is that the pressure on the public schools and teachers' unions for greater academic accountability can only grow.

As two-worker families have become the norm, harried parents fret about having less time to spend on their most important job: raising their children. They want policies that help them spend more time with their children and help protect their kids when they aren't around. They favor public-private efforts to create enriching after-school programs to keep their kids occupied until they get home from work, expansion of family leave policies, and more flexible work arrangements, including comp time and telecommuting.

Crime and violence — both in reality and in the products packaged by the entertainment media — are also fulcrum issues on the quality of life scale. Most Americans strongly favor restrictions on guns and efforts to re-establish public order and authority in public spaces, especially schools, which have so often lately been the scenes of senseless massacres. At the same time, there are intriguing signs that the public understands that the conservative "lock 'em up" approach to reducing crime has reached the point of diminishing returns. Similarly, strong majorities favor the death penalty, but support has dropped amid growing doubts (fueled by DNA testing) as to the guilt of some of the people on death row. Americans also favor new government action to equip parents with tools to protect their children from the mass media's sex- and violence-soaked messages and advertising targeted explicitly at kids.

Just as quality of life concerns often transcend class lines, they also bridge the gulf between cities and suburbs.

The key to a city's future, argues Denver Mayor Wellington Webb, "is attracting highly talented people, people who will be working in the emerging industries." And the key to attracting those people, he explains, is creating "a high quality of life." That's why Webb has upgraded and expanded Denver's already appealing park system and why the U.S. Conference of Mayors is pushing federal legislation to expand parks and recreation facilities in cities. Says New Orleans Mayor Marc Morial, whose city has seen impressive drops in crime in recent years, "Some people used to dealing with big policy debates might be saying, 'Ho-Hum, the mayors want to build parks,' but I can tell you that it's one of the most critical issues we face."

The longer the current boom persists, the more the old dividing line between city and suburb will blur. And as the older cities that are losing population become greener and the suburbs become more densely packed, both are caught up in a common quality of life agenda that often encompasses the region they share.

Maryland Governor Parris Glendening raised quality of life issues to the top of the policy agenda in his maiden speech as new chair of the National Governors Association, arguing that it's time to "look beyond economic prosperity to community prosperity."

Progressives should seize the opportunity to craft a new political agenda that confronts the mutual concerns of urban and suburban voters and that links the interests of the mass upper middle class with those of less affluent suburban families confronting the same obstacles to a better quality of life. This agenda should emphasize issues such as smart growth, quality education, family friendly schools and workplaces, affordable housing, civic environmentalism, and tough but racially sensitive crime prevention. These are the building blocks of an "American way of life" for the 21st century. ■

"Says New Orleans Mayor Marc Morial, 'Some people used to dealing with big policy debates might be saying, "Ho-Hum, the mayors want to build parks," but I can tell you that it's one of the most critical issues we face.'"

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Creating choice for livable communities

by Rep. Earl Blumenauer

All across America, citizens are grappling with a host of related issues: tremendous increases in commuting time, deteriorating air quality, the loss of local green spaces, the consequences of unplanned growth and sprawl. As different as these topics may be, they are all variations on a single theme: How do we protect and improve the livability of our communities?

In 1998, voters considered more than 240 "smart growth" ballot measures; more than 70 percent were approved, triggering new spending of $7.5 billion for open-space conservation, new greenways and trails, water system maintenance, school upgrades, and other matters. Clearly, livability issues have proven power in state and local races nationwide. Now, a growing number of federal candidates are testing the messages in their own elections.

As New Democrats, we have a tremendous stake in advancing these issues. They are the quality of life concerns that matter so intensely to our voters, and they offer a laboratory in which to demonstrate that government can be effective in taking common-sense steps to solve real problems.

What is a Livable Community?

Simply stated, a Livable Community is one in which our families are safe, healthy, and economically secure. This definition has five elements:

Earl Blumenauer is a member of Congress from Oregon's 3rd District.

BUILDING LIVABILITY: More and more developers are including recreation, shopping, and schools in their planned communities, like this one outside Frederick, Md.

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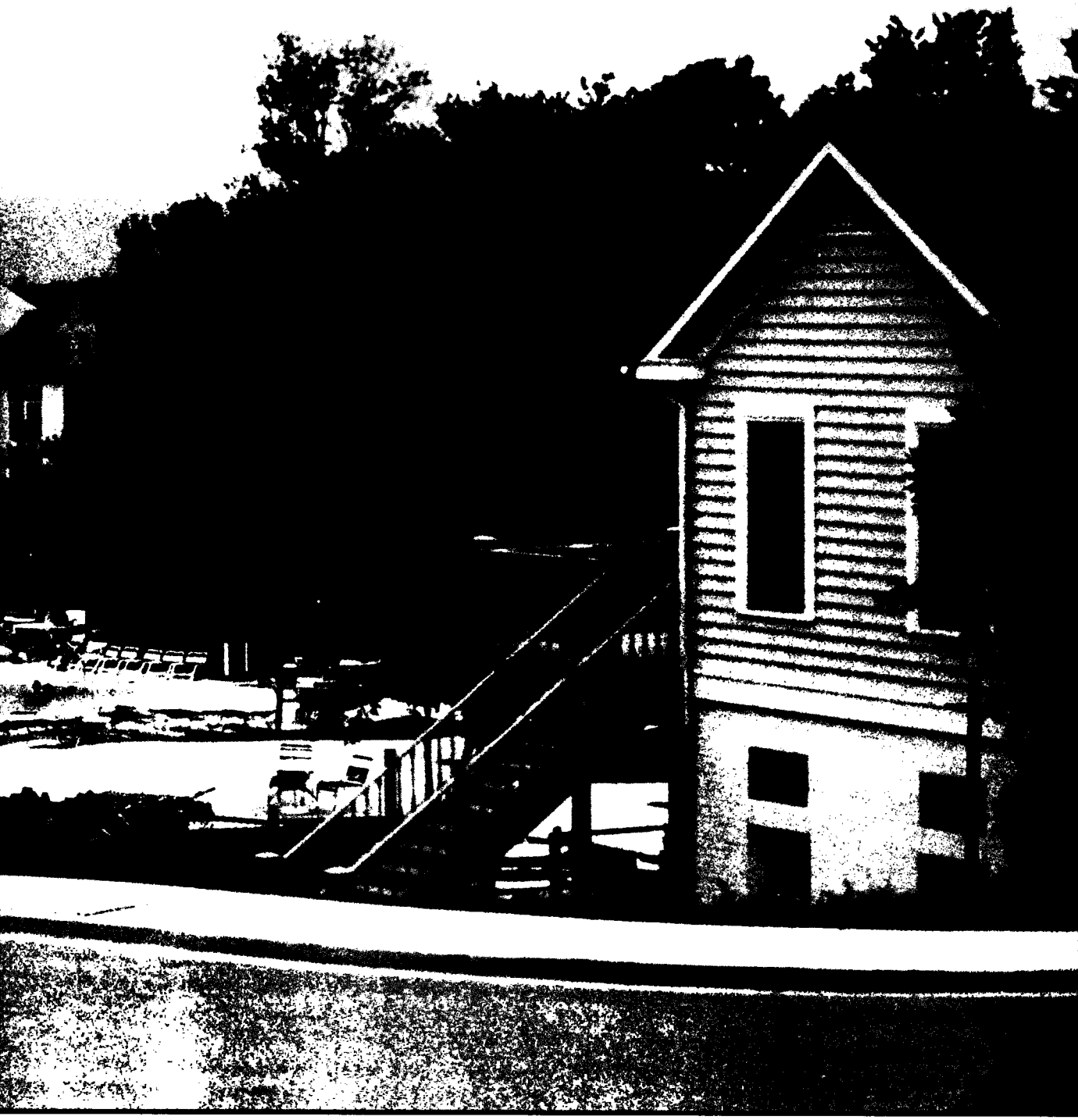

By partnering with the federal government, local communities can use tax and infrastructure codes to make our towns and cities better places for all citizens to live.

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- Safety — in all its dimensions, from environmental safety to safety on the streets. The overriding goal is enhancing people's sense of security.
- Sustainability — both economic and environmental. We cannot endlessly consume land, water, and other resources at rates much faster than population growth.
- Creative use of resources — leading to multiple benefits from wise investments and to more intelligent use of existing resources rather than reliance on new taxes.
- Choice — in employment, transportation, and housing. Livability does not mean coercing people to do things they don't want to do; it means giving them a fuller range of options in where they live and work and how they travel.
- Participation — by all citizens, not just the economically privileged or politically active. A livable community recognizes that citizen participation — across ethnic, income, and age groups — adds real value as we seek solutions.

"Government investment in transportation infrastructure should maximize the capacity of existing roadways, rails, and transit systems, enabling them to better meet local needs."

The Federal Government's Role

While key decisions on everything from policing to education are made at the local level, the American people understand that the federal government must be a partner in making local efforts work. Often, the best program is for the federal government — as the largest landowner, landlord, and employer in the United States — simply to lead by example.

The federal government has been involved with every phase of urban development in this country since we started taking land away from Native Americans. We subsidized the railroads, airports, the interstate highway system, and the dream of home ownership whether directly, by cash outlays, or by the way that we structured the tax and finance system.

Federal policies have sometimes undermined community livability. Massive infrastructure investments that were not sensitively integrated into the community fabric often forced people to abandon existing neighborhoods for newer communities at the urban fringe. The federal flood insurance program perversely subsidizes development in areas that are repeatedly flooded rather than encouraging relocation. While newer communities struggle with increasing traffic congestion and escalating taxes to pay for all the new growth, older communities suffer from crumbling schools and neglected infrastructure, abandoned housing stock, failing businesses, and citizens who fall further behind the prosperity curve. Neither community comes out ahead.

It shouldn't be this way. The federal government should be helping, not hindering, local communities' efforts to become more livable.

On the macro level, government investment in transportation infrastructure should maximize the capacity of existing roadways, rails, and transit systems, enabling them to better meet local needs. Tax policies must become more neutral so that people are not herded into decisions about where to live and how to travel. Many additional opportunities exist for expanding tax reform policies such as making permanent the preferential tax treatment of brownfields cleanup or extending tax credits to owners of historic residential property.

The federal government often exempts itself from the rules and regulations the rest of America must follow. Despite a presidential executive order, many federal agencies are contributing to sprawl rather than leading the rejuvenation of developed areas. I have introduced legislation, for example, that would require the United States Postal Service to obey local land-use laws and zoning codes when siting a new facility. Currently, the Postal Service allows more public input into the selection of the right Elvis stamp than it does into its decision to move out of a downtown — a decision that touches the hearts and souls of thousands of communities across the country. This one small change at a single federal agency could help anchor struggling downtowns nationwide and stabilize thousands of small businesses. Just imagine what we could accomplish if the rest of the federal government adopted the same approach.

We can work within the federal government to build critical alliances, using policy and affinity groups to build support for more livable communities. In response to growing public

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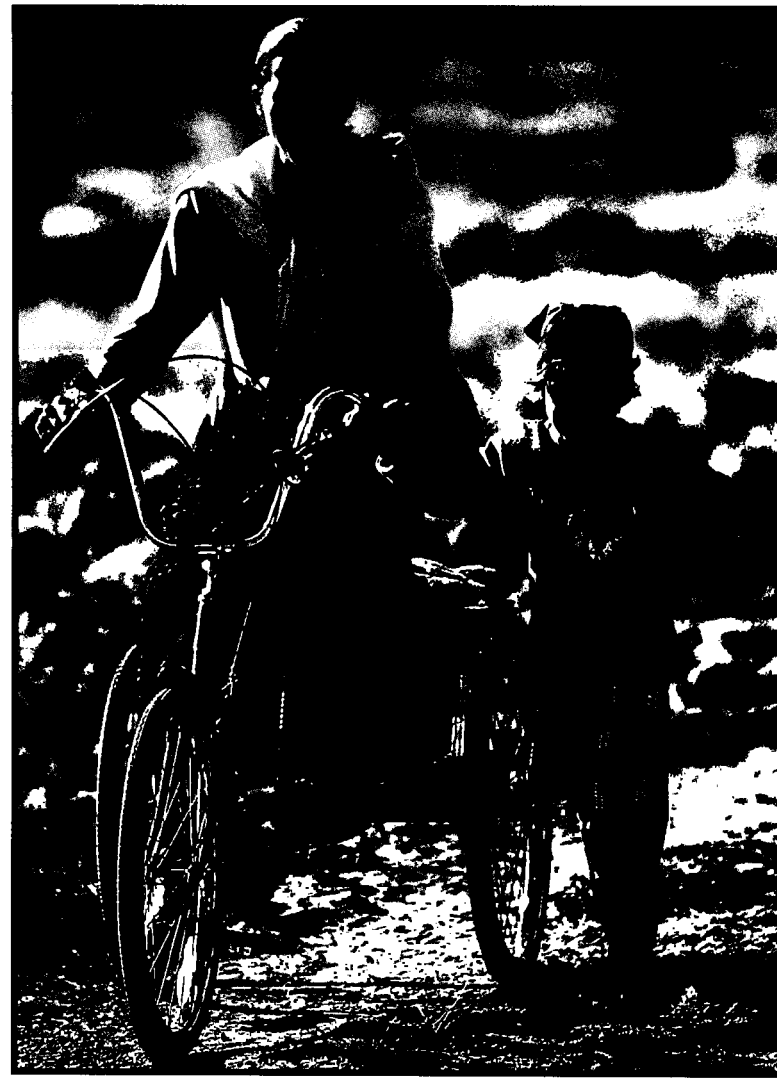
"Livability and 'smart growth' present enormous opportunities for elected officials at all levels of government."



VOTING SMART: Initiatives that protect open spaces and nature preserves have been overwhelmingly approved in recent years.

interest in these issues, members of Congress have formed a Livable Communities Task Force to share information and educate themselves on local livability efforts, a bipartisan Bicycle Caucus to focus on bicycles as a viable transportation choice, and a bipartisan Sustainable Development Caucus. In the U.S. Senate, a bipartisan Smart Growth Task Force is similarly working on initiatives that support sound federal policy for more livable communities.

Conclusion

Livability and "smart growth" present enormous opportunities for elected officials at all levels of government. For members of Congress, however, the issues should provide an irresistitible temptation: the chance, for once, to engage in a debate not just about how much money to spend, but about how to spend money more intelligently to get better results.

The challenge, and strength, of the livable communities movement is that there is no one solution, model, or congressional committee charged with addressing the issue; instead, it requires our attention at multiple levels. Community livability needs to be addressed through both "micropolicies," such as making the Postal Service obey local land-use laws, and "macropolicies" such as tax structure, federal flood insurance, and infrastructure investment policies. By spending more wisely, by focusing more sharply on livability, and by making the federal government a more respectful and supportive partner, we can make our communities what we would all like them to be: better places for all citizens to live, work, and raise their families. ■

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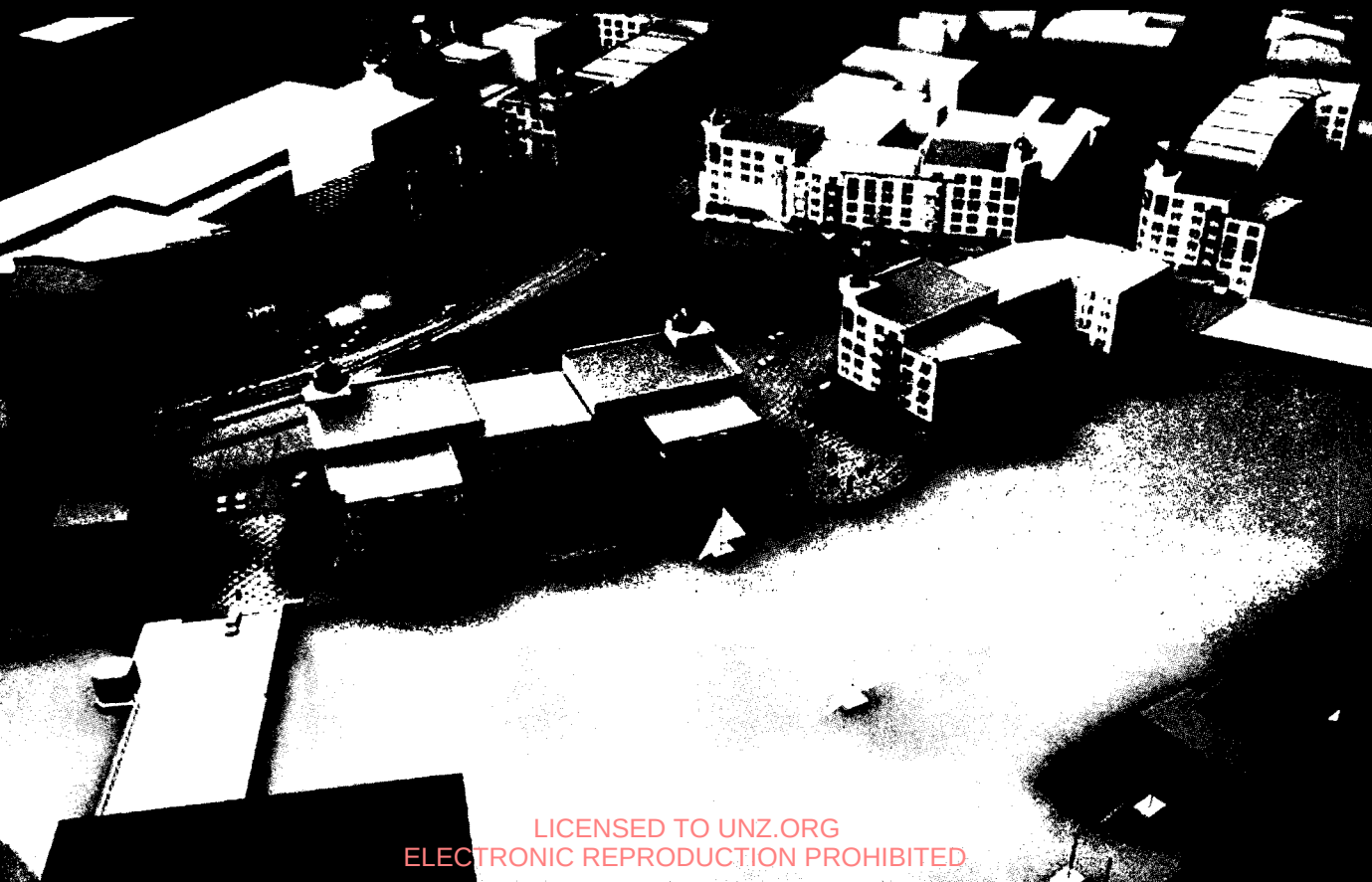
BEFORE AND AFTER: Milwaukee's 40-year-old Park East Freeway (above) blocks views and access to the city's river, dividing downtown into two separate parts. After the highway's deconstruction, it is expected that the new riverfront (below) will flourish and property values will soar. Harley-Davidson, Time Warner, and housing developers are already clamoring for shoreline access.



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Tear it down!

Why deconstructing highways is a 21st century public works project.

by Mayor John O. Norquist

Forty years ago in my city, Milwaukee, highway designers planned to surround the central business district with an expressway that was to include a section along the shore of Lake Michigan. This section, which would have separated downtown from its waterfront, generated enough opposition to stop its construction. But more than half of the loop was built, including a half-mile stretch that crosses the Milwaukee River and separates the north side of downtown from the rest of downtown.

Milwaukee is about to do something that might seem astounding, perhaps even un-American, and that is to tear down a superhighway. Why? Because rebuilding the 30-year-old structure would cost $100 million. Tearing it down and replacing it with a street costs about $25 million.

Property values near the structure are depressed. The elevated road blocks what would otherwise be beautiful views on both sides of the Milwaukee River. Recently downtown Milwaukee has experienced a housing boom that has developers searching for sites. Last year the county, state, and city agreed to remove most of the half-mile long Park East Freeway and develop the land. The estimated property value increase is expected to be $250 million. Harley-Davidson is building a museum, Time Warner is building a new regional headquarters, and housing developers are clamoring for access to the site.

It may seem strange, tearing down expressways after 50 years of the greatest road building binge in world history, but we've been through this rethinking process before. Remember the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers? As it enters the 21st century, the Corps has already begun the process of undoing the damage many of its 20th century projects caused. In the Florida Everglades watershed, the Corps once drained marshes and forced streams into concrete-lined channels in an attempt to tame waterways and make more land available for agriculture and development. Now the Corps is ripping out concrete and restoring marshes.

Draining wetlands and channelizing streams not only damaged the environment, but increased the likelihood of pollution and flooding downstream. Marshes, meadows, swamps, grasslands, and bogs slow down and filter the water that flows through them. The Corps is learning to respect the natural benefits of wetlands. It is learning that forcing water into concrete-lined channels was foolish and counterproductive.

In a similar way, traffic engineers are learning that urban street grids can distribute urban traffic more efficiently than do superhighways.

"Widening roads to solve traffic congestion is like loosening your belt to cure obesity,"

John O. Norquist, the mayor of Milwaukee, is the author of The Wealth of Cities *(Perseus Books, 1998).*

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says Walter Kulash, a traffic engineer from Orlando, Fla. Kulash argues for more smaller streets and roads rather than huge limited-access interstate highways. He's for choice. He believes travelers should be offered options. Government should invest in streets, sidewalks, transit, and bike paths instead of devoting almost all of its tax money to huge, highly engineered expressways.

Traffic engineer Rick Chellman's research in Portsmouth, N.H., demonstrates that the urban street grid generates less than half the car trips of suburban development. Chellman measured travel on the sprawled edge of Portsmouth against travel in that city's traditional neighborhoods and found that people traveled less often and for shorter distances in old Portsmouth.

Yet federal highway programs still concentrate tax dollars on building giant grade-separated roads that cut through or around urban grids. Like the now discredited Corps of Engineers channelization projects, the Federal Highway Administration seeks to concentrate traffic on a few large roads. The concentrated traffic congeals into congestion and the system is overwhelmed, just as with the Corps water projects. Federal highway policy, like so many post-World War II federal programs, imposes gigantic and destructive intrusions on complex urban situations.

Traffic engineers and Corps officials haven't learned these lessons in isolation. Across the country and across many disciplines, people are re-evaluating post-World War II federal urban policies that had destructive effects on cities, despite their good intentions. This destructive legacy has five major ingredients:

- Federal welfare policy, which undermined city labor markets by paying people not to work and penalizing them if they did.
- Promulgation of model zoning codes that criminalized the mixed-use development patterns that were the norm in traditional American neighborhoods and main streets, replacing them with the now familiar pattern of sprawl: city housing, office, and retail separated into pods and sprawled across the land.
- The Federal Housing Authority created in 1934 helped popularize the low equity mortgage. FHA subsidized home ownership to millions of Americans — which was great, except that for many years FHA only subsidized newly constructed homes, meaning you couldn't use FHA to buy a house in your old neighborhood. FHA also required race segregation covenants until 1949 and allowed them until 1962.
- The urban renewal program subsidized wholesale demolition and clearance of urban neighborhoods. In 1945, many European cities were wastelands. Berlin, for example, was 80 percent destroyed at the end of the war. Thirty years later, London, Rotterdam, Berlin, and Hamburg were all rebuilt cities while U.S. cities looked as though World War II had happened in the United States.
- Welfare, zoning, FHA, and urban renewal all did their damage, but the most destructive program was the federal government's gross over-subsidy of high-speed roads that cut through the fabric of U.S. cities. The federal government paid 90 percent, states 10 percent, and locals 0 percent. This funding mix was so compelling that few cities opposed freeway construction in the early years of the program.

In 1956, the Interstate Highway Act was signed by President Dwight Eisenhower. Its chief Senate sponsor was Albert Gore Sr., but the man most responsible for its passage was Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, a powerful friend of the road building industry. It was Johnson who pushed hard for the dominant 90 percent federal cost share.

Just before World War II, designer Norman Bel Geddes had proposed the idea of interstate highways to President Franklin Roosevelt. Bel Geddes had been impressed with the development of grade-separated limited access roads in Europe, particularly the German autobahn. He recommended the new roads for America with an important caution. In his 1940 book, *Magic Motorways*, he warned that a high-speed, non-stop thoroughfare would only bungle the job if it got tangled up with the city. Bel Geddes felt that a great motorway had no

"Designer Norman Bel Geddes warned that a high-speed, non-stop thoroughfare would only bungle the job if it got tangled up with the city. Bel Geddes felt that a great motorway had no business cutting a wide swath right through a town or city and destroying the values there."

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FREEWAY MANIA: Highway construction was politically hot in the 1950s. Here, beaming politicians and a beauty queen, "Miss Blacktop," help open I-94, the first stretch of interstate highway in Wisconsin. The roads bound the nation together, but the problem was routing them through the cities.

business cutting a wide swath right through a town or city and destroying the values there; its place was in the country.

Bel Geddes knew what European traffic engineers already knew, that high-speed roads would disrupt the efficient distribution of traffic on city street grids. That is why you won't find expressways inside the outer ring roads of most large European cities. London has a high-speed motorway ringing its edge and motorways to other large cities such as Glasgow and Newcastle, but London has no high-speed roads inside its beltway. Instead, London has boulevards and avenues across a dense network of streets, lanes, and alleys. Under the road grid is a huge complex of subways and commuter railroads. The edges of the boulevards and streets are lined with sidewalks, businesses, and housing. Transportation choice is a profound reality for those living in London. Walking, bicycling, riding transit, and driving cars are all options. Contrast that with the high-speed expressways of, let us say, metro Detroit, where every freeway ever planned was built and cars travel farther and farther between increasingly insignificant destinations.

My parents honeymooned in Detroit in 1946, guests of a grateful government that provided a week in a hotel to those who were POWs during World War II. My father, a Bataan Death March survivor, could choose between Minneapolis or Detroit. Since they lived in St. Paul, Minn., he chose Detroit.

They stayed at the luxurious Book Cadillac Hotel. With a new Bell and Howell movie camera my father recorded the first days of an enduring marriage and the heyday of downtown Detroit. At that time, Detroit bustled with pedestrians and shoppers in scenes reminiscent of the great cities of Europe. Three department stores — Hudsons, Kerns, and Crowleys — all on Cadillac Square, rivaled Manhattan's Bloomingdale's, Macy's, and Gimbel's. Detroit's prominent skyline was surpassed only by those of Chicago and New York.

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Fifty years later, Detroit has changed beyond recognition. The pedestrians are gone. The streetcars, with the exception of a small, antique replica that operates occasionally, are gone. The department stores are gone. Most buildings are gone or boarded up. The 28-story Book Cadillac stands as part of the Detroit acropolis of empty skyscrapers.

If money is the measure, the federal government kept faith with Detroit during its decline. But if results matter, Washington's dollars were fool's gold. Billions flowed from Washington into Detroit in the form of concrete. Billions more built public housing in the city and tax-subsidized middle-class housing in the suburbs. More was spent on urban renewal and parking lots — so many parking lots that there are not many places left to visit.

Some may think Detroit, as an automobile city with a declining industrial base, is a special case. But compare Motor City with the Motowns of Europe: Wolfsburg, Germany; Goteborg, Sweden; Turin, Italy. Each has a healthy, vibrant downtown. Turin, especially, has endured the decision of a giant automaker to move production elsewhere. Yet the city thrives.

In California, some expressways were built even before the Interstate Act. The California Highway Department had begun building San Francisco's Embarcadero Freeway in 1953. The department intended it to connect the Bay Bridge with the Golden Gate. The state assemblyman for the north of San Francisco at the time, Caspar Weinberger (later Ronald Reagan's defense secretary), opposed the freeway, saying it would block views of the Bay and lower property values. He lost the fight, but he and others slowed the project enough that 20 years later, Mayor Joseph Alioto was able to stop its completion from Fisherman's Wharf to the Golden Gate. Alioto saw no advantage to a high-speed road through San Francisco. He said the city was so beautiful that people should slow down and enjoy its charm. He noted that most of the great cities of Europe had no expressways cutting through them and that Paris, Vienna, Rome, and London seemed to be doing fine without them.

When the 1989 earthquake damaged the Embarcadero Freeway, it was considered an "act of God" and in one of the rare cases in which San Francisco's political culture embraced a divine message, the city petitioned the state of California to remove the Embarcadero Freeway instead of rebuilding it.

The state agreed and nearby property values promptly shot up by more than 300 percent, reinforcing Caspar Weinberger's argument of 40 years before. Today the Embarcadero is an at-grade boulevard with sidewalks and light rail transit in a median lined with royal palms. The boulevard and transit connect Fisherman's Wharf with the Giants' new baseball stadium. The most important views of San Francisco Bay from the North Coast of San Francisco are no longer obstructed by an elevated concrete expressway.

Neil Goldschmidt, Portland's mayor of a generation ago, led an effort to remove an elevated expressway separating its downtown from the banks of the Willamette River. The mayor and his allies argued that the quality of life and property values would improve if the road were removed and replaced with an avenue and a park. They won the argument, and their prediction came true. Property values are up dramatically, and the park along the river is now one of the most popular gathering spots in Oregon. Similarly, New York City removed the West Side Highway and has enjoyed huge development in the old freeway corridor.

San Francisco, Portland, New York, and now Milwaukee all are deconstructing freeways. All four cities are undoing damage done to them, which points out one characteristic of Americans: We make huge mistakes, but we also correct them. We are replacing welfare with work; we're ending or redesigning federal housing programs; we're reversing the destructive programs of the Corps of Engineers; and we're changing our attitudes about highways and transportation. Four cities have or are replacing expressways with avenues and boulevards. I predict this is just the beginning. With property values skyrocketing near demolished freeways, urban expressway deconstruction could be one of the biggest public works projects of the 21st century. ■

"Portland's mayor of a generation ago led an effort to remove an elevated expressway separating its downtown from the banks of the Willamette River. The mayor and his allies argued that the quality of life and property values would improve if the road were removed and replaced with an avenue and a park."

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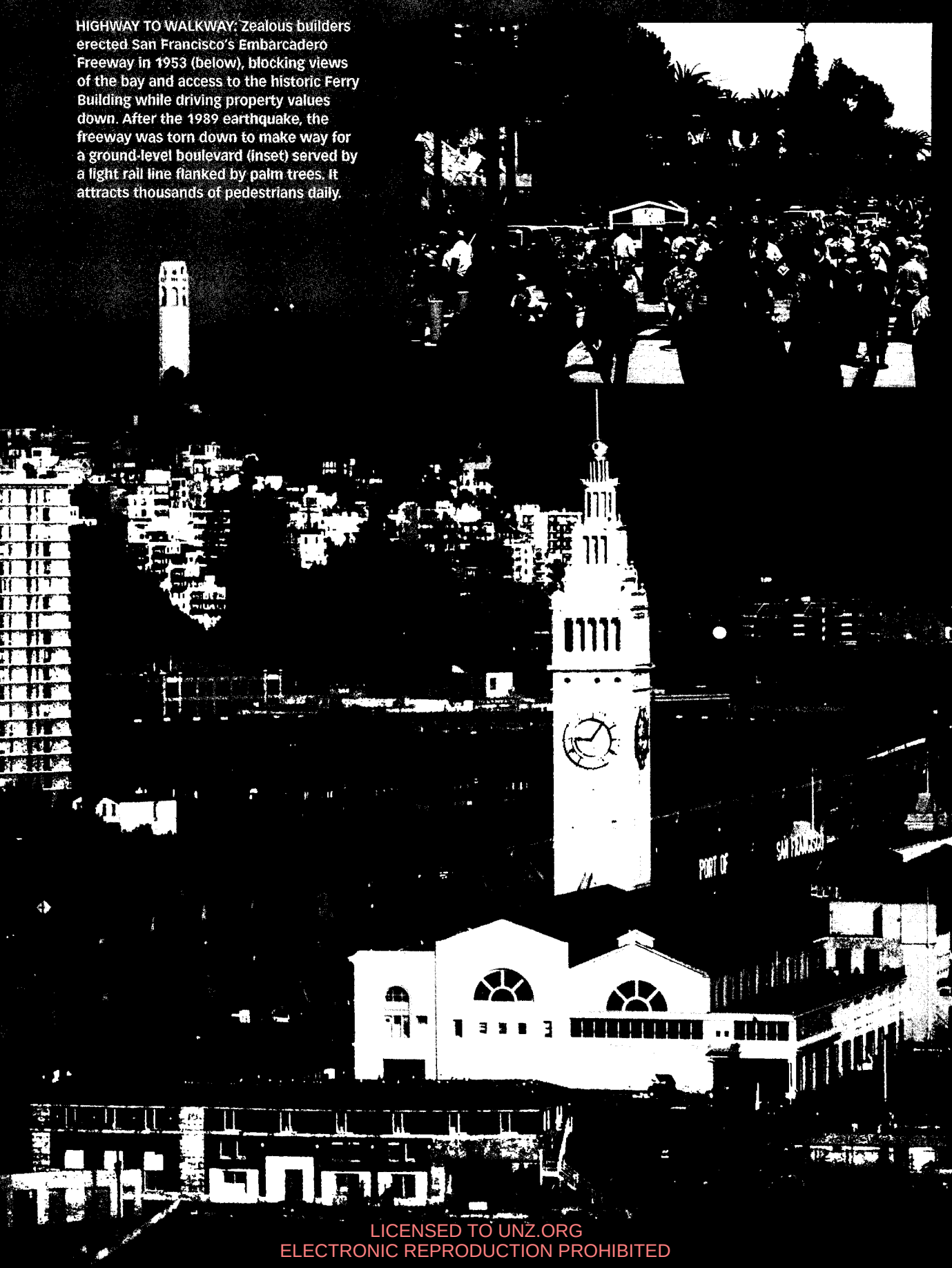

HIGHWAY TO WALKWAY: Zealous builders erected San Francisco's Embarcadero Freeway in 1953 (below), blocking views of the bay and access to the historic Ferry Building while driving property values down. After the 1989 earthquake, the freeway was torn down to make way for a ground-level boulevard (inset) served by a light rail line flanked by palm trees. It attracts thousands of pedestrians daily.

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Mapping our way out of gridlock

We need more roads, smarter driving, and sensible development. New laws, and incentives, can give us all three.

by Robert D. Atkinson

The number [of Americans stuck in traffic] is growing rapidly. An hour and a half commute each day is 10 full workdays a year spent just stuck in traffic. The problem isn't the cars themselves; for so much of this century, cars have given us the chance to pursue our dreams. We just never expected to hit a traffic jam along the way.
—Vice President Al Gore

As Vice President Gore articulates, traffic congestion is a huge issue. You would think that a problem this big would call forth a major effort to solve it. Yet in spite of significant concerns by Americans that they are stuck in traffic, a stalemated left-right debate keeps governments from solving this problem.

How Bad is Traffic Congestion?

According to the Texas Transportation Institute, drivers in the largest 70 metropolitan areas spend an average of 40 hours a year stuck in traffic, 8 percent more than in 1990 and 150 percent more than in 1982. Only a third of rush hour travel was congested in 1982; today, two-thirds is. As a result, Americans waste 4.3 billion hours and $74 billion a year. Not surprisingly, 60 percent of Americans living in metro areas report that congestion is a problem.

Why is Congestion So Bad?

Traffic congestion has gotten worse for two reasons: the demand (vehicle miles traveled or VMT) has skyrocketed while the supply (miles of roads) has barely increased.

Compared to 20 years ago, 36 percent more Americans work and commute. Moreover, as Americans get wealthier and the costs of driving fall, more people drive. The longer lives of cars (more than eight years) let more poor people afford vehicles. As the New Economy enables more Americans to live and work in the suburbs, these workers commute longer distances — up from 8.5 miles in 1983 to 11.6 miles in 1995. And as Alan Pisarski, author of *Commuting in America II,* notes, the increased time pressure faced by Americans and their increased trip-chaining (e.g., driving home but stopping first at the store) means that more households drive instead of car-pooling or taking mass transit.

Robert D. Atkinson is director of the Technology and New Economy Project at the Progressive Policy Institute. Research assistance was provided by Robert Milt.

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Put it all together and you get a stunning 88 percent increase in VMT in 20 years.

Unfortunately, governments have done little to accommodate this rush of cars onto our roads. While VMT increased 37 percent between 1987 and 1998, lane miles of available roads edged up just 1 percent. VMT on freeways or principal arterials in urban areas increased faster (42 percent), but lane miles increased only 16 percent (with almost all coming from reclassifying rural areas as urban). Thus, travel in urban areas increased over two-and-a-half times as fast as capacity, clogging highways.

In spite of this pressing problem, little has been done to solve it. The left (environmentalists, community activists, and urbanists) has waged a campaign against roads, automobiles, and suburbs. Rather than making life easier for drivers, the left wants motorists to bear the burden for solving energy, environment, and "livability" problems. As one anti-sprawl activist said, "How are we going to get people out of their cars if we relieve road congestion?"

The left has convinced many decision-makers that "sprawl" is responsible for traffic congestion, that new roads just make things worse, that road pricing schemes are unfair, and that only demand reduction strategies (e.g., mass transit, car-pooling, urban growth boundaries) can improve mobility. These anti-auto, anti-suburban activists have succeeded in dramatically slowing road expansion.

But making drivers' lives miserable will do little to reduce driving and won't solve environmental and energy problems. In fact, congestion leads to an extra 6.6 billion gallons of gas being burned every year. Americans are driving more because in the new dispersed economy driving is the only reasonable way to get around. As a result demand reduction strategies can only take us so far. For example, the Washington, D.C. region ranks second in transit ridership and first in car-pool use but second worst in traffic congestion. The only solution to these environmental problems is technology: electric cars, fuel cells, and next-generation high mileage, clean cars. Rather than limit Americans' mobility, we should instead increase funding for research into these technologies.

"The only way to solve our metropolitan mobility crisis is to take aggressive action on many fronts to increase the supply of roads and make them more efficient while reducing the demand for driving. Building more roads without taking other measures, such as smart growth and road pricing, will exacerbate sprawl."

But while the left pushes demand reduction, the right (and single-issue highway advocates) push highways and oppose planning, transit, smart growth strategies, and making autos and development pay their own way. Some conservatives, such as Virginia Gov. Jim Gilmore, go even further: they are even reluctant to build more roads, instead using the money to cut taxes. Yet, while road building is needed, it can't solve the problem alone. We can and should add and expand roads, but there is a physical limit to how far we can go.

Yet simply relying on either demand reduction or supply expansion strategies is more ideological than pragmatic. Instead, we need to tap all solutions, not just transit and smart growth as the left says, or more highways as the right calls for, but also radically new approaches (e.g., smart highways, road pricing, and privatization). New Democrats can take the lead in forging and implementing these pragmatic and innovative solutions.

Unlike advocates on both sides of the debate who seek a silver bullet, no single approach is enough. The only way to solve our metropolitan mobility crisis is to take aggressive action on many fronts to increase the supply of roads and make them more efficient while reducing the demand for driving. Building more roads without taking other measures, such as smart growth and road pricing, will exacerbate sprawl. But simply trying to control development and driving will not solve traffic congestion as the population expands and more Americans live in single family homes. We need comprehensive, integrated solutions — including an increased supply of roads, reduced demand, and reliance on market forces to accomplish both.

The Supply Side: Build More Roads and Make Them Smarter

Build More Roads

The anti-highway movement has promoted the myth that building roads "induces" large numbers of new drivers to fill up the road, and it has coined catchy phrases like "building highways to reduce congestion is equivalent to buying a larger belt to cure obesity." The

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Surface Transportation Policy Project, a Washington-based anti-highway advocacy group, has led this charge. In a study of 70 metro areas, the project found no relationship between building roads and reducing congestion. Yet it failed to point out that places with an expanding population built more roads. When that growth is accounted for, it turns out that adding more lane miles faster than population growth reduces traffic congestion. A Texas Transportation Institute (TTI) study came to the same conclusion: "Road construction has been shown to play a key role in holding the line against urban mobility decline." Numerous other studies show that adding lane miles does increase traffic somewhat (increasing lane miles 10 percent adds between 2 percent and 5 percent more traffic), but overall eases congestion both on the new roads/lanes and adjacent roads.

Yet because of the myth that we can't build our way out of congestion, coupled with the rampant self-interested not-in-my-back-yard syndrome, we haven't built or widened the roads we need. The problem is compounded by a reluctance to spend more money and overly strict urban transportation planning requirements imposed by the federal government that let opponents block new proposals. For example, when the Capital Beltway was built in Washington, D.C., the master plan envisioned building two additional bypasses for north-south traffic. Forty years later they remain unbuilt and the Beltway is often a parking lot. Likewise, when the leafy four-lane Baltimore-Washington Parkway was built in the 1940s few people drove and almost no one commuted on it. Today, people are forced to enjoy its beauty as they crawl along at 15 miles per hour to get home, even though the parkway could easily be widened from four to eight lanes.

In short, in many areas growth has outpaced what the roads were designed to bear. In those areas we need to expand arterials and freeways and build new ones, not to support sprawled growth, but to meet the needs of the population that is already there. Building new highway capacity in rapidly growing areas is not like buying a belt to cure obesity, but more like buying new shoes for your kids when their feet get bigger.

Make Roads and Transit Smart

Building and widening roads will help, but it won't do it all. We also need to adopt technology that lets roads handle more traffic and makes transit more responsive and faster. Information technologies, referred to as Intelligent Transportation Systems, are beginning to be applied to our transportation network to reduce congestion. Advanced traffic surveillance and signal control systems result in travel time improvements ranging from 8 percent to 25 percent. Meters controlling the flow of cars entering freeways in Houston enable roads to handle 8 percent to 22 percent more traffic at speeds 13 percent to 48 percent higher. Letting drivers pay electronically by the mile to drive on under-used HOV lanes in Los Angeles and San Diego (with rates changing regularly based on demand) increases road use without lowering HOV lane speeds. Seattle drivers can access a real-time traffic map on the Internet (www.SmartTrek.org) and even receive e-mail so they can know which roads are clogged and can take alternative routes. New cars will soon have Internet access so drivers can know road conditions ahead. It's even possible that some day car guidance technologies will let cars travel close together at high speeds.

The Demand Side: Give Americans Options and Incentives to Drive Less

Boost Transit and Alternative Modes

Just as using less energy is the left's main answer to energy problems, mass transit is its main answer to traffic congestion. But because it's difficult to cost-effectively serve low-density suburban areas with transit, transit ridership has remained unchanged since 1987, now accounting for only 5 percent of commuter trips. At best transit can provide only a partial solution.

But transit (and bike routes) can and should be expanded, particularly to new suburban employment centers. For example, in Washington, D.C., the Metro rail system does not go to the booming "edge city" of Tyson's Corner in Northern Virginia, even though

"We need to expand arterials and freeways and build new ones, not to support sprawled growth, but to meet the needs of the population that is already there. We also need to adopt technology that lets roads handle more traffic and makes transit more responsive and faster."

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What Works/Georgia's Regional Authority

"It's the quality of life, stupid." / by Governor Roy E. Barnes

When I took the governor's oath in January 1999, I faced an immediate crisis: the federal government had recently cut off transportation funding for Georgia — about $1 billion over five years — because of the state's persistent air quality problems. These problems were brought on by traffic congestion and poorly planned development that had Atlantans driving one of the longest big-city commutes in the world (an average 34.9 miles per day).

Big problems require big solutions. So Georgia took the bold step of creating a new state agency with unusually strong powers over regional transportation and commercial development that would guide growth in the 13-county metro-Atlanta area. Because of this forceful approach, the state may soon have its federal funding restored by the Environmental Protection Agency.

During the 1990s, Georgia had ridden a massive economic boom. But as the Atlanta area grew, so did its traffic. Every day cars and trucks spewed more than 250 tons of ozone-producing nitrogen oxides into the air — roughly 35 tons more than the 1990 Clean Air Act allows. The median commuting time grew to 31 minutes, with half our employees living in one county and working in another.

Suddenly, our success threatened to become our Achilles' heel, as national media stories highlighted Atlanta's growing problems with smog and congestion. The *Wall Street Journal*, *U.S. News & World Report* and NBC News sent a wake-up call to our elected officials and the Atlanta business community. We reacted by creating the Georgia Regional Transportation Authority (GRTA).

GRTA was our answer to what had clearly become a leading quality-of-life issue in the greater Atlanta area. (Around my office, we have a new version of an old motto: "It's the quality of life, stupid.") The Metropolitan Atlanta Chamber of Commerce was the first to call for a regional transportation planning authority, and I quickly made it a top priority on taking office.

The authority, whose reach extends to 80 separate county and municipal governments, works with a variety of carrots and sticks. On the stick side, GRTA can veto major highway projects or developments (such as large subdivisions or commercial buildings) in metro Atlanta. And it can require the use of transportation options such as HOV lanes, regional buses and vans, and mass transit. On the carrot side, it can help local counties finance transportation options by issuing $1 billion in revenue bonds and $1 billion in general obligation bonds. It can also operate a mass transit system.

Just this summer GRTA approved a three-year plan — the first phase of a 25-year plan — that gave an ultimatum to local governments: get your land-use policies in line with regional transportation strategy or face the loss of some of your state and federal road money.

With such extraordinary power, one can see why people joked that GRTA stood for "Give Roy Total Authority." But the real authority here went to GRTA's 15-member board.

Why give so much authority to a government organization? That's the only way to "break through the boundaries of government," as our transportation commissioner put it, and create a regional solution that covers all of metropolitan Atlanta. Each of the 80 governments in our region may very well want to fix Georgia's sprawl, transportation, and pollution problems, but none of them can do it on their own.

Instead, the solution requires coordination. Georgia needed a powerful, regional organization with authority over both development and transportation that could say, "No, we're not putting a 1.7 million square foot megamall out in a field 40 miles north of Atlanta."

In comparison, most transportation authorities in the country have the job of coordinating and creating transit options, but creating options isn't enough to fix problems. It's like paving over potholes without filling them first. It ignores the overwhelming cause of transportation problems: poorly planned development.

Instead of continuing Atlanta's sprawl, the authority will use its carrots and sticks to promote a long-term strategy of service-oriented growth — a term I prefer to "livability" or "smart growth." In other words, you concentrate services — transportation options like buses and trains, telecommunication connections like broadband and cable, shops and malls — as an incentive to promote growth.

And make no mistake — GRTA is a growth strategy. No one in Atlanta wants to cut off growth; we don't even want to slow it down. In fact, our concern is the opposite. We're worried that without GRTA — without service-oriented growth — our economic growth could end.

Frank Lloyd Wright once said, "Doctors get to bury their mistakes, but architects — and builders — can rely only on kudzu and vines to cover up theirs." For too long, this has been the development strategy for cities like Atlanta. But kudzu can't hide bumper-to-bumper traffic on our interstates and highways, and it'll be years before vines mask the miles of strip malls plaguing suburban Georgia. When we don't plan our growth, nothing can cover it up.

GRTA represents an experiment in government, and I think it is the best way to get control of our growth and ensure Georgia's prosperity for decades to come.

Roy E. Barnes is governor of Georgia.

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there is more office space there than in downtown Denver. Development should also be encouraged around rail stations, as has been done around subway stops in the Washington, D.C. and Atlanta areas.

Finally, telecommuting can get some drivers off the roads. But it won't be the panacea that some hope for. One leading student of telecommuting estimates that only about 16 percent of the entire workforce can actually consider telecommuting, with far fewer likely to do it. Nonetheless, efforts need to be made to encourage telecommuting.

Foster Smart Growth

Increasingly, political leaders are embracing a concept known as "smart growth" to use infrastructure dollars to discourage leapfrog development and encourage development in existing communities or areas contiguous to them. Portland, Ore., has used this approach for more than 25 years to manage growth.

True smart growth accommodates Americans' desires for single-family suburban homes, but avoids encouraging leapfrog development and subsidizing new growth. It also seeks to foster in-fill development in urban and older suburban areas where land and buildings are abandoned or vacant.

But the smart growth movement is also infiltrated with anti-growth urbanists and environmentalists who want high density multi-family development forced into built-up areas with everyone taking transit. As a recent article in the liberal journal *American Prospect* stated, "the antidote to sprawl is density...the problem is most Americans don't like density." They are right in saying that Americans don't want higher densities. They are wrong is saying that the antidote to sprawl is density because smart growth doesn't mean only "in-fill," it also means adding new developed land contiguous to built-up areas.

Finally, if smart growth is going to work, governments need to stop working at cross-purposes. On the one hand, governments in high growth areas are trying to channel growth since sprawl development costs more than it generates in tax revenues. On the other hand, economic developers persist in handing over large tax subsidies to attract even more industry to their crowded, high-cost areas. It's like subsidizing tobacco farmers while spending money to keep people from smoking.

The Market Side: Use Market Forces to Reduce Driving and Build Roads

Today we subsidize driving and sprawl and let the government, not the market, decide what investments to make in roads and transit. No wonder we have congestion.

As any economist will tell you, subsidize something and you get more of it. Motor vehicle users pay only between 50 percent and 70 percent of the public expenditures for highway infrastructure and services; all taxpayers pay the rest.

The private sector is beginning to price services to reflect true costs. The Progressive Insurance Company has rolled out a new innovation — pay-as-you-drive car insurance. Their system uses GPS technology to track vehicle use and produces a monthly bill. Based on initial studies, users are likely to drive 10 percent to 20 percent less once the fixed cost of driving is shifted to a variable one.

The public sector needs to emulate this model. States should let drivers with such systems pay annual car registration fees based on the number of miles driven (and air pollution caused) — the less you drive, the less you pay. We should also make employee transportation subsidies mode-neutral. The Clinton administration took a step in that direction by allowing employers to give employees pre-tax transit subsidies in addition to parking, but the parking subsidies are almost three times as generous and don't cover walkers or bikers.

Most important, we should move to a "pay-as-you-drive" system. Just as phone users pay more to call during the day, government should charge drivers more for driving at peak times. If drivers paid a small per-mile fee to drive on major freeways at rush hour (using transponders in cars that can also be used as "EZ Passes" for tolls), we would reduce congestion.

Congestion pricing should be the beginning. One could envision all expressways and arterials charging by the mile. In return, states and localities could use the money to expand and upgrade roads and transit and reduce taxes. Many

"Smart growth accommodates Americans' desires for single-family suburban homes, but avoids leapfrog development and subsidizing new growth. It also seeks to foster in-fill development in areas where land and buildings are abandoned or vacant."

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What Works / Envision Utah

Getting ready for Western congestion / by Senator Scott N. Howell

While many conceptualize the West as a vast expanse of never-ending land without sprawl or congestion problems, the reality can be quite different. In Utah, where 80 percent of the land is in federal and state hands, urban families already fear the day when they will have to drive three hours in dense traffic to reach the nearest recreational park or open space.

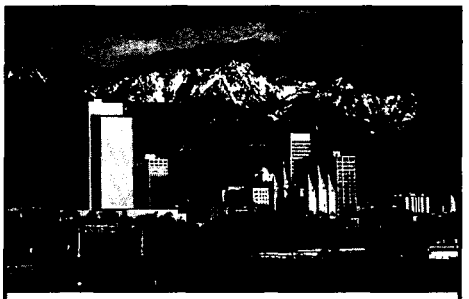
Utah, many non-Westerners will be surprised to learn, is the sixth most urban state in America. That's because 85 percent of our 2 million citizens live in a densely populated northern corridor around Salt Lake City called the Greater Wasatch Area (GWA). By 2020, the GWA's population will grow to 2.7 million from 1.7 million today. By 2050, we expect the GWA to reach 5 million — nearly triple today's already dense population.

Due to the natural geographical boundaries imposed by mountains, lakes, and public lands (a chief reason for Utah's appeal), there remain roughly only 1,000 square miles of private, developable land in the GWA. Without appropriate measures, the GWA will soon be overwhelmed, incapable of meeting the transportation and open space demands of the near future.

Fortunately, plans are in place to deal with the coming crunch.

In 1997, concerned citizens and policymakers formed a public-private partnership called Envision Utah. Made up of business leaders, academics, conservationists, religious leaders, and politicians, it studied urban trends in the GWA and began to develop a broadly supported growth strategy. In its effort to accommodate a variety of desired lifestyles, it has come up with a mix of recommendations:

1. Promote walkable communities. The benefits simply make sense. The ease of access for pedestrians/bicycle users to services, schools, and shopping areas will dramatically lower the amount of car usage. Walkable communities can also substantially reduce land consumption through the construction of loft apartments above retail stores. Intermixing condos/town homes in traditional commercial and residential areas would be an efficient use of land resources and reduce pressures on open land development as well.



TROUBLE AHEAD: Salt Lake City's area population will reach 2.7 million by 2020.

2. Foster transit-oriented development to alleviate congestion and funding demands. Rail transit has demonstrated its effectiveness in cities throughout the nation, and after the documented success of a recently built north-south light rail line within the GWA, a regionwide transit system will be aggressively pursued. In comparison to sprawling highways, mass transit conserves land, increases efficiency (since riders can work on the train), and reduces stress for participants.

3. Reduce congestion. We should create car pool lanes and reversible lanes that take advantage of unused road space during peak-hour congestion. To keep even more cars off the road, we need a network of commuter bikeways that link daytime destinations. In addition, we want to promote telework, where the employee fulfills his/her obligations at home. This also provides a unique opportunity for increased family time.

4. Reduce the average residential lot from 0.35 acre to 0.29 acre. This would allow the total land area consumed by the next million people to drop from 325 square miles of new land to 126 square miles, preserving more open space. The agricultural land consumed by this growth could drop from 143 square miles to just 65 square miles.

5. Increase the amount of usable land. This could be done by trading sensitive private lands for federal lands that are more appropriate for development.

The combination of these strategies would reduce vehicle miles traveled per day by 2.4 million. At the same time, average highway speeds would increase by 12.5 percent, commute times would decline by 5.2 percent, and use of optional transit methods would increase by 37.5 percent. In addition, these strategies would reduce road spending by approximately $3.5 billion and increase transit spending by $1.5 billion, for a net savings of $2 billion.

On top of these transportation benefits, Envision Utah's strategy would help create a more market-driven mix of housing, more affordable housing options with more amenities, a 7.3 percent reduction in emissions, more open areas within communities that can be used for agriculture or outdoor recreation, and a $4.5 billion reduction in transportation, water, sewer, and utility infrastructure.

Leaders of Western communities cannot ignore these figures. The benefits are indisputable, and action must be taken to to realize the enormous potential within this small window of opportunity.

Democrat Scott N. Howell is the Minority Leader of the Utah State Senate.

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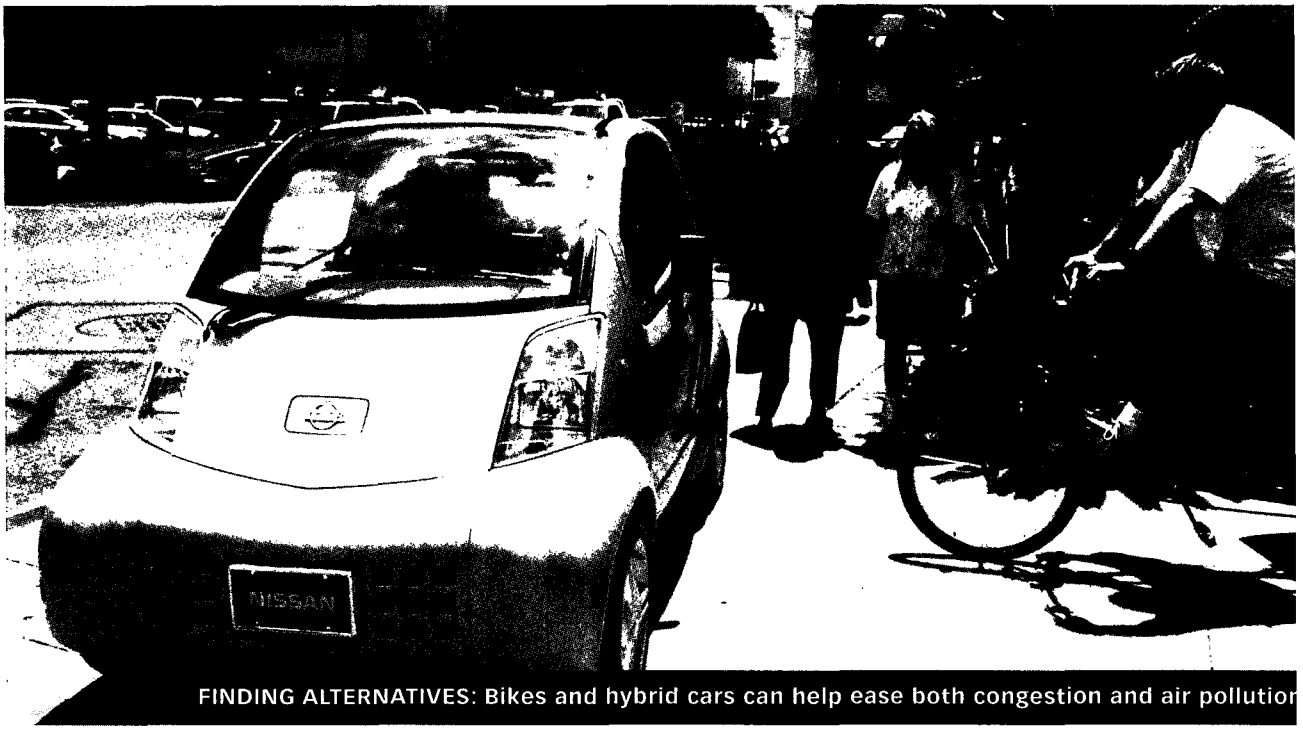

FINDING ALTERNATIVES: Bikes and hybrid cars can help ease both congestion and air pollution

investments to widen freeways can be recouped by charging drivers to use the new lanes.

Road pricing could give governments an incentive to increase mobility — something they don't have now. If motorists paid a higher price to travel faster, public works departments would have real incentives to make the kinds of changes necessary to get speeds up to the speed limit. We should even consider letting private contractors bid to take over highway operations. Ultimately, this implies a reduced role for federal and state highway funding out of general funds or gas taxes.

Finally, we need to stop subsidizing sprawl. The former Congressional Office of Technology Assessment estimated that sprawled development raises infrastructure development costs as much as 20 percent. Because most of these costs are not borne by developers but rather by governments (or by utilities that are prohibited from charging more in sprawl developments), sprawl is exacerbated. For example, in 1995, Phoenix was subsidizing new suburban dwellings by more than $12,000 each. An array of mechanisms — including marginal cost pricing of utilities and other services and development levies and impact fees — use the market's own signal mechanism (price) to encourage more cost-effective urban development patterns.

What Should Governments Do?

To give Americans back the mobility they once enjoyed, governments at all levels need to take new and aggressive action:

Federal:

- Increase funding for Intelligent Transportation Systems (ITS). Between 1997 and 2003, ITS funding is expected to decline 4 percent in real dollars.
- Increase funding for research on early stage, generic clean transportation technologies.
- Target a greater share of highway funds to expanding and building new roads. While highway funding has increased recently, over the last decade the share of federal highway funds going to new construction fell from 34 percent of the total to 27 percent.
- Increase state and local matching requirements for federal transportation funds in order to encourage road pricing initiatives.
- Make pre-tax employee transportation subsidies mode-neutral (e.g., car, transit, walking).
- Maintain current rates of expenditures on transit.

"If motorists paid a higher price to travel faster, public works departments would have real incentives to make the kinds of changes necessary to get speeds up. We should even consider letting private contractors bid to take over highway operations."

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States:

- Empower local governments to impose impact fees to make growth pay its own way; create regional transportation authorities; and permit charging a fee to use a state highway.
- Adopt smart growth policies and guide infrastructure investments to developed areas or contiguous undeveloped areas.
- Target a greater share of highway funding to congested metropolitan areas. While almost all traffic congestion is in moderate-sized and large metropolitan areas, only 29 percent of federal surface transportation program funds not for use on the national highway system go to them.
- Adopt pay-as-you-go car registration fees based on the car's emissions and miles driven.
- Spend more on Intelligent Transportation Systems. Less than 0.4 percent of "flexible" federal transportation money going to states goes to ITS.
- Institute road pricing.
- Build and expand roads.
- Use reversible lanes.

Local Governments:

- Institute road pricing.
- Impose impact fees on new developments equal to public sector costs.
- Collaborate in regional transportation authorities.
- Use computers to coordinate timing of traffic lights.
- Build and expand roads.

Let's Solve This Problem Now

Americans are fed up with how metropolitan areas have developed. But rather than clamoring to move back to high-rise apartments in the city, they are pressing for ambitious, pragmatic solutions that incorporate the best from the supply increase and demand reduction sides. New Democrats can win by being seen as the group that understands this issue, that respects Americans' desire to live in single-family homes and drive cars, that makes investments in new and smarter roads and transit that will give people back mobility, and that fosters smart growth development to reduce the need to drive and increase our quality of life. We can solve this problem, but only if we want to and if we take the comprehensive and innovative actions needed. ■

PAY AS YOU GO: This automatic transponder charges cars on a California toll road. These technologies could be used to bill drivers according to which roads they choose (the best ones cost more) and how fast they go (more speed costs more).

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What Works/Smart growth in the Twin Cities

Using incentives to guide local choices / by Ted Mondale

After years of partisan wrangling over the costs of suburban sprawl, the Twin Cities is creating a new model for regional cooperation on smart growth. The secret to our success is a stronger, more focused regional government that sees its role as empowering local governments, not fighting them.

The debate about sprawl and land use in the Twin Cities was stalemated in the 1990s. Caught in the crossfire was the Metropolitan Council, the Twin Cities' regional government, which had lost the political capital to lead on regional issues. In 1998, by electing Jesse Ventura and endorsing his plans for reform that challenge government to be smarter, more responsive, and more accountable, Minnesota voters changed the political dynamic of this debate.

Since his election, Governor Ventura has emerged as a strong advocate for smart growth. "We need community involvement and collaboration, not conflict," he has said. "We need commonsense incentives for making smart land use and transportation decisions, and consequences, when necessary, for making shortsighted ones."

With nearly 200 cities and towns in the Twin Cities area, we are more fragmented than most regions. Situated on the edge of the Great Plains, we have few natural boundaries limiting development. Our strong economy and high quality of life are expected to attract an additional 500,000 people to the Twin Cities over the next 20 years, creating demand for about 270,000 new residences.

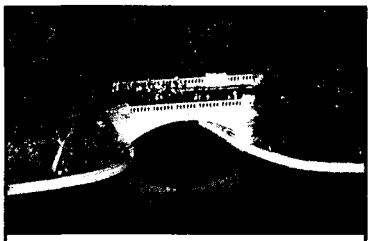
The question before the Metropolitan Council is where and how this development occurs. Our mission is to ensure that the Twin Cities grows in ways that protect and enhance our clean air and water, parks and green spaces, and livable and prosperous communities.

One strategy is to use incentives, not mandates. With more than $30 million in its 2000 budget for transportation, wastewater treatment, and redevelopment incentives, the Council now has increased influence with local governments. We've made it clear this money will flow first to communities that invest in affordable housing and make responsible land use and transportation decisions.

One example is Burnsville, Minn. As the suburban community's 1960s- and 1970s-era development began to age, the city realized the need to take a serious look at how to develop for the future. The city engaged the public in a process that involved citizens, government, and interested partners to redesign a part of Burnsville to be called "The Heart of the City." The project will redevelop a 1960s-era low-density site into a compact town center of mixed uses and mixed housing that is more walkable and has more public open spaces. A $1.6 million Livable Communities Grant from the Metropolitan Council will improve streetscapes, construct a community plaza, and remove an old gas station to convert a community gateway.

Another core strategy is to empower local governments by demonstrating what smart growth looks like. In the past, the Council's relationships with local governments were primarily regulatory, through our power to approve local comprehensive plans. Our new strategy is to work as partners, not regulators, by providing local governments with design tools and access to the best thinking about how to do development and redevelopment right.

In fall 1999, for instance, we worked with local governments in the fast-growing corridor stretching from St. Paul east into Wisconsin. The St. Croix Valley Development Design Study focused on what progressive, mixed-use development designed around town centers and transit hubs can look like. The Metropolitan Council provided money and the expertise of one of the best urban design firms in the nation and then asked communities to tell us where they needed help. In design workshops, communities worked with consultants to identify problem areas and create solutions, such as design alternatives that connected parks, public space, housing, retail, and transportation and created more walkable streets. The study's final products were development concepts complete with computer-generated photographs showing what new development could look like. Local communities embraced the project, including two opportunity sites across the border in Wisconsin. Dave Schaff, the mayor of Oak Park Heights, called the St. Croix Valley Development Design Study "one of the most effective things the Metropolitan Council has done in my memory."



PRAIRIE HIGH: Twin Cities runners enjoy high quality of life.

In Minnesota, we are learning that, if we use strong incentives, empower local governments, demonstrate what smart growth can look like, and creatively engage the public, we will make the right choices for growth and development.

Ted Mondale is chair of the Metropolitan Council in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota.

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Sell smog now!

Emissions trading would put a cap on pollution — and a price. Let the market stop the smog.

by Debra S. Knopman

Clean air is as basic to livability as it gets. Yet, with Americans today driving twice as many miles and consuming twice as much electricity as they did in 1970 (during a population increase of only one-third), the hard-won gains in air quality over the last 30 years may slip away unless we make major course corrections. Pressures on air quality are coming from three directions: smog caused mainly by increasing vehicle use and old coal-fired power plants; the threat of climate change from greenhouse gases produced from burning coal, oil, gas, and forests; and fresh competition in the once price-controlled electricity business. Taken together, these problems can only be solved fairly and efficiently by working outside the box of conventional environmental regulation, in which government prescribes pollution controls on industry.

"Smog" is the vernacular for ground-level ozone caused by the combination of nitrogen oxides, volatile organic compounds, and sunlight; smog alone represents one of the biggest challenges to maintaining the quality of life in expanding metropolitan regions. Nearly 180 U.S. counties still fail to meet the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) standard for ground-level ozone. Greenhouse gases such as carbon dioxide and methane appear to be contributing to global climate change that may turn up the heat in some regions and chill down others. Current restructuring of the electricity industry around price competition (a good thing) is leading to heavier reliance on the cheapest fuels (coal) burned by the cheapest power plants (a bad thing). Those tend to be older plants that spew various pollutants like nitrogen oxides, sulfur dioxide, and lots of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere. It makes no sense for government to try solving each of these problems separately when so many of the same sources are involved. The environmental gains of such a fragmented approach are likely to be disappointing and its inefficiencies rampant. Sound environmentalism and economics call for coordinated action.

The best way to reduce emissions from these sources is to impose appropriately protective limits on the total quantity of these pollutants and gases in the atmosphere, and then to establish markets to set prices that lead to efficient reductions by all sources. Instead of government regulators trying to pick technology controls like expensive "scrubbers" to clean smokestack pollution, electric utilities and other sources will make their own, more efficient choices, such as switching to cleaner fuels or changing the fossil fuel intensity of their operations.

In its present form, the Clean Air Act doesn't employ market pricing of air pollution, save for one market-based program to control acid rain. Indeed, the act — part of the first generation of environmental protection legislation targeted at industry in the 1970s — may even be making matters worse through a regulatory regime that inadvertently slows

Debra S. Knopman is director of the Progressive Policy Institute's Center for Innovation and the Environment.

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"There is a way to hit a trifecta of smog reductions, greenhouse gas emissions reductions, and cleaner electricity: It is called emissions trading. Emissions producers could reduce their own emissions, sell or retire any excess allowances, or buy others' excess allowances according to market prices."

down the retirement of dirtier power plants and factories.

There is a way to hit a trifecta of smog reductions, greenhouse gas emissions reductions, and cleaner electricity: It is called emissions trading. Instead of continuing to tighten pollution limits on industries, power plants, and vehicle makers with separate, one-at-a-time regulatory technology prescriptions, Congress should authorize emissions trading for smog-causing nitrogen oxides and greenhouse gases. This would enable major emissions sources — say your local coal-fired utility or the nearby Avis rental car fleet — to make economically efficient decisions about smog control and climate change strategies at the same time. Here's how it could work: Emissions trading begins with the government setting an overall regional limit on nitrogen oxides or a national limit on greenhouse gases. For example, total nitrogen oxides emissions in the southeastern United States could be restricted to 6 millions tons per year (annual emissions are currently around 6.4 million tons for the 10-state region). Government assigns or auctions to emissions producers only as many allowances (one allowance equals one ton of nitrogen oxide emissions) as the overall limit (or "cap") permits (some pollution may come from outside the region). Then, emissions producers — power plants, fuel makers, vehicle manufacturers, and other sources — could take one of three actions: reduce their own emissions to stay within their allowances; sell or retire any excess allowances; or buy others' excess allowances to meet their own obligations. They would choose according to market prices.

For example, suppose a Ford assembly plant outside Atlanta uses less than its full nitrogen oxide allowances (estimated from its energy use or measured directly), whereas a Ryder truck franchise in Miami produces more than its allowances. (As suggested by Seattle-based investment adviser Jonathan Naimon, vehicle fleets such as delivery vans, buses, and rental cars could be included in an emissions trading program by aggregating fleet emissions based on mileage, which is easily tracked.) To avoid a costly penalty, Ryder would then have three choices: reduce emissions by altering fuels, purchase cleaner-burning vehicles, or buy allowances from someone else (perhaps Ford) to cover the excess emissions. Power producers with high-polluting coal emissions and fluctuating seasonal needs could do the same thing. Each company gets to choose its own least-cost strategy, yet overall emissions in the region remain within the limit rather than rising uncontrollably. Both the public and the private interest are served. Such a trading system would do the key thing that current law fails to do except in the form of penalties: put a true market price on pollution. Price concerns would put downward pressure on emissions, with every source having a clear, obvious, and measurable stake in doing its share. Air emissions would become a knowable and bookable cost of doing business, just like the steel for car doors or the coal for a power plant. Every corporate executive would have a sharper eye on "emissions price," just as an airline executive closely watches the cost of jet fuel. The incentive to pollute less — that is, to produce the same amount of product with fewer emissions or more product with the same level of emissions would trigger faster development and deployment of emissions-reducing technologies, along with new investments in cleaner energy and transportation technologies. Emissions trading would also bring disparate sources of regional air pollutants and greenhouse gases under a single, efficient, and comprehensive regulatory framework. And by revealing the costs of emissions reductions from different electricity sources and vehicles — now hidden by the regulatory system — emissions trading could also engage consumers and commuters in the business of reducing their contributions to air pollution.

Further, allowing fleet operators to buy and sell emissions allowances in the market just like large stationary sources would encourage the purchase of low-emissions vehicles. This is a much more sensible approach than, say, the California mandate on car manufacturers, requiring that 10 percent of all new vehicles sold in the state beginning in 2003 produce zero emissions. There is no reason that government should be trying to guess which

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BUYING MILES: Truck and car rental fleets could buy or sell emissions allowances. The cost of extra emissions would spur the industry to build more fuel-efficient vehicles.

vehicle technologies will have the most market viability and greatest impact on air emissions.

Including individually owned vehicles in an emissions trading program faces some practical obstacles that eventually could be overcome with more advanced emissions measurement technologies. For now, government still needs to press carmakers to build cleaner burning cars and fuel makers to make cleaner fuels — as the EPA is doing. Fast developing new car technology will eventually make a huge difference, but consumer demand for low emissions and fuel efficient vehicles is currently quite low because of their added expense. This means consumers currently have insufficient motives to "buy green" other than altruism.

Predictably higher fuel costs will also eventually change consumer demand. Putting a price on pollution through variable car registration fees tied to vehicle emissions, and linking car insurance costs to actual driving, would reinforce the need for drivers to change their ways. We know that emissions trading works as a market tool because it is already being used by power plants to control acid rain under the sulfur dioxide trading program. The actual cost of reducing sulfur dioxide emissions has averaged about $125 per ton, much less than the $250 to $700 per ton estimated in 1990 when the program was enacted. As for emissions trading to reduce smog, the EPA has proposed a 22-state trading market in nitrogen oxides for the East and Midwest within the next several years. However, the proposal — lacking the force of congressional authorization — is tied up with court action blocking the new ozone standards. Southern California pioneered regional emissions trading to control smog beginning in 1994, but other areas have not yet been moved to act.

An emissions trading market — combined with enlightened political leadership at all levels — is an excellent framework for efficient and coordinated action. By authorizing comprehensive emissions trading, Congress could provide regions and communities with a workable and effective tool to reduce smog, put the United States on a path to reducing greenhouse gas emissions, and minimize environmental costs from electricity competition — a good deal all around. Emissions trading also has the virtue of liberating us from the tiresome liberal/conservative bludgeoning about top-down, prescriptive regulation that, in any case, will not solve the problems we now face. While there are no silver bullets or shortcuts to improve air quality, emissions trading gives everyone concrete, financial reasons to act green — and smart. ▣

"Putting a price on pollution through variable car registration fees tied to vehicle emissions, and linking car insurance costs to actual driving, would reinforce the need for drivers to change their ways."

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A new model of governance

Civic environmentalism promotes local approaches.

by Debra S. Knopman and Marc K. Landy

Americans continue to vote with their feet for the suburban life of affordable housing, safe neighborhoods, good schools, and recreational lands. The result is that as many Americans now live in suburbs as do in central cities and rural areas combined. But suburbanites are also facing more traffic congestion, persistent smog, and diminishing open space — in short, a loss of some of the very qualities of life for which they moved to the suburbs in the first place.

Suburban growth offers a case study in why some of the critical assumptions of the first generation of environmental protection laws need to be seriously re-examined. The previous pattern of treating environmental quality as if it existed in a separate universe from transportation, housing, and land-use policies is no longer viable. And the importance of states and localities as key integrators of actions affecting the environment is becoming more obvious.

A new model of governance is needed to cope with the unintended environmental consequences of suburban growth. We call it civic environmentalism. At root, civic environmentalism (a term coined in 1993 by DeWitt John of the National Academy of Public Administration) means that citizens, communities, and businesses — in partnership with government — design their own solutions to environmental problems close to home, rather than passively accepting piecemeal and disjointed prescriptions handed down by federal and state regulators.

Beginning 30 years ago, landmark first-generation environmental laws such as the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act, and the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act established the federal government and its state agents as protectors of public health and the environment. Factories, power plants, and city sewage were seen then as the primary culprits fouling the air and water; government-prescribed technologies — sometimes called "command and control" regulation — were seen as the most effective means to curb pollution. As befit their Industrial Age lineage — and the poor showing by the states during the 1950s and 1960s — the laws were strong on federal mandates and weak on civic empowerment.

Since 1970, environmental priorities have shifted from industrial air and water pollution to regional smog, runoff from farms and lawns, global climate change, endangered species and habitat loss, and pervasive concerns about human-made chemicals and life forms. Solving these problems is a task for which the first-generation policies are simply insufficient and for which civic environmentalism is most needed:

- Sixty percent of smog-causing nitrogen oxides come from cars, trucks, railroads, airplanes, and other miscellaneous non-industrial sources whose actual emissions are difficult to control under Clean Air Act rules. Only 40 percent comes from factories and power plants.
- Runoff from agricultural lands and suburban development not covered by the Clean Water Act is now the most extensive source of water pollution, affecting 70 percent of rivers and streams that fail to meet water quality standards.
- More than two-thirds of greenhouse gas emissions totally unregulated under the Clean Air Act come from electricity consumed to heat, cool, and light homes and buildings, and from fossil fuels for transportation; industry energy use accounts for only the remaining third.
- More than two-thirds of threatened and endangered species reside on private lands where the Endangered Species Act is least effective.

Addressing these emerging problems pushes beyond conventional notions about pollution control and federal land policies. Even though air and water quality have improved dramatically over the last 30 years — a mark of success by the first-generation laws — industry can no longer legitimately be blamed for all of our environmental woes. Further, the first-generation technology prescriptions mandated by the federal government to bring industry to heel are increasingly inefficient in a fast-paced economy and too rigid to accommodate multiple and diffuse land-use-driven environmental problems.

Current approaches to federal highways, transit, and other infrastructure investments are likewise inadequate with funding formulas favoring new construction over improvements in planning, operations, and maintenance. No longer is the reactive and piecemeal civic dysfunction in local land-use and transportation decisions quaint or tolerable.

Throughout the nation, citizens and communities are increasingly engaged in collaborative efforts to "think outside the box" of fragmented and narrow decision-making and to instead integrate and coordinate environmental protection, land use, housing, and transportation planning to improve their quality of life. This is the essence of Gov. Parris Glendening's Smart Growth initiative in Maryland, which is intended to steer new state road and school construction dollars away from areas likely to exacerbate traffic and environmental problems in the region.

These regional and local efforts are often frustrated by the fragmentation of federal and state authorities and resources available

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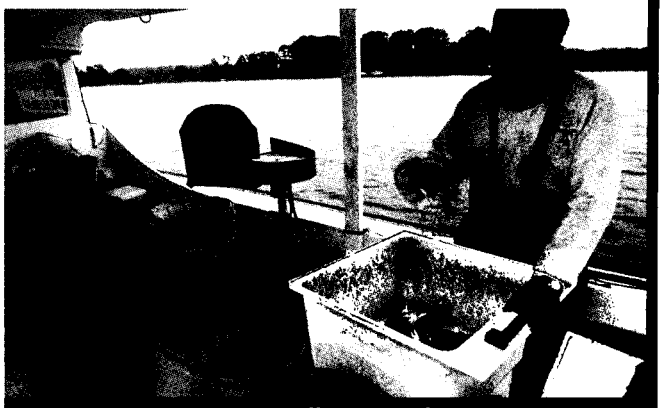
to help them. For example, many communities like Wichita, Kan., have gone to extraordinary lengths to devise their own strategies to restore contaminated "brownfields" to productive use because the federal Superfund program mounted obstacles to local control of the cleanup process. They are looking to federal and state government to devise a second generation of policies and strategies for environmental improvement that rewards results, harnesses market forces, stimulates technological innovation, offers greater flexibility in return for increased accountability for results, and empowers civic environmental action to solve place-specific problems.

Civic environmentalism requires a level of adaptability and flexibility that the uniform national policies dear to the political left cannot provide. It shares the broad goals of the environmental movement to protect human health; improve the quality of the air, water, and land; and preserve species diversity. But it departs from what has become national environmental orthodoxy in important ways: tailoring solutions to the problems of a specific place, valuing civic-led action over top-down prescriptions, and leveraging the legal authorities wielded by the regulatory agencies as a way to drive toward local consensus. Even as it is inherently decentralist, civic environmentalism embraces government and governance in a manner foreign to the libertarian right and repudiates its notion that unmanaged land markets will magically take care of everything.

As a first principle of applying civic environmentalism to suburban growth, government and private actions should not inadvertently make life more difficult for communities whether urban, suburban, or rural. That means rooting out subsidies from government and utilities that mask the full costs of transportation, housing, and other development. Beneficiaries of new development should pay the full costs of water, electricity, gas, telecommunications, public safety, and education.



CRAB SHORTAGE: Farm run-off, pollution from subdivisions, and over-harvesting have lowered the Chesapeake Bay's crab population. Through civic environmentalism, a public-private consortium is leading the Bay's restoration.

As a second principle, the form of governance should follow its function. Single-duty bureaucracies — whether local, state, or federal — get in the way of comprehensive environmental problem-solving. New civic institutions may be more effective in devising and leading public-private action to integrate transportation investments, development priorities, land-use practices, and land and water conservation.

For example, in California's Bay-Delta, four federal agencies and the state collided for years over attempts to separately enforce three different environmental laws which cumulatively were adding to costly uncertainty about the long-term reliability of the state's water supply. Finally, in December 1994, California business leaders joined with citizens' groups, agricultural interests, federal agencies, and the state to create Cal-Fed, a coordinated and homegrown approach to improving reliability in the region's water resources and restoring valuable aquatic habitat for endangered species. Cal-Fed's legal mandates help to drive the collaborative decisionmaking process.

Finally, government should overhaul its old bureaucracies to deliver integrated services to communities; it should no longer force communities to sift through multiple and often conflicting state and federal programs and rules one at a time. While the regulatory agencies must not shed enforcement responsibilities, they should designate regional ombudsmen to provide one-stop shopping for regulatory guidance, funding, technical assistance, and incentive grants for integrated planning. For example, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency is dominated by its air, water, and hazardous waste offices. In a major shift, New England EPA's former regional administrator John DeVillars overhauled his staff to comprehensively focus its resources on special places such as the watersheds of the Charles River, Lake Champlain, and Long Island Sound.

Civic environmentalism does not mean deregulation or national divestiture in environmental matters — a point often missed by the left and the right. Further, not all environmental issues are amenable to civic treatment. Many, such as global climate change and product standards, will require a blend of civic, national, or even international approaches.

Communities and regions now more than any other time in history have the capacity to shape their own environmental futures. It is time for state and federal legislators to modernize their rules and institutions to allow these civic solutions to take root and grow.

Debra S. Knopman is director of the Progressive Policy Institute's Center for Innovation and the Environment. Marc K. Landy is a professor of political science at Boston College and co-author of Presidential Greatness *(University Press of Kansas, 2000).*

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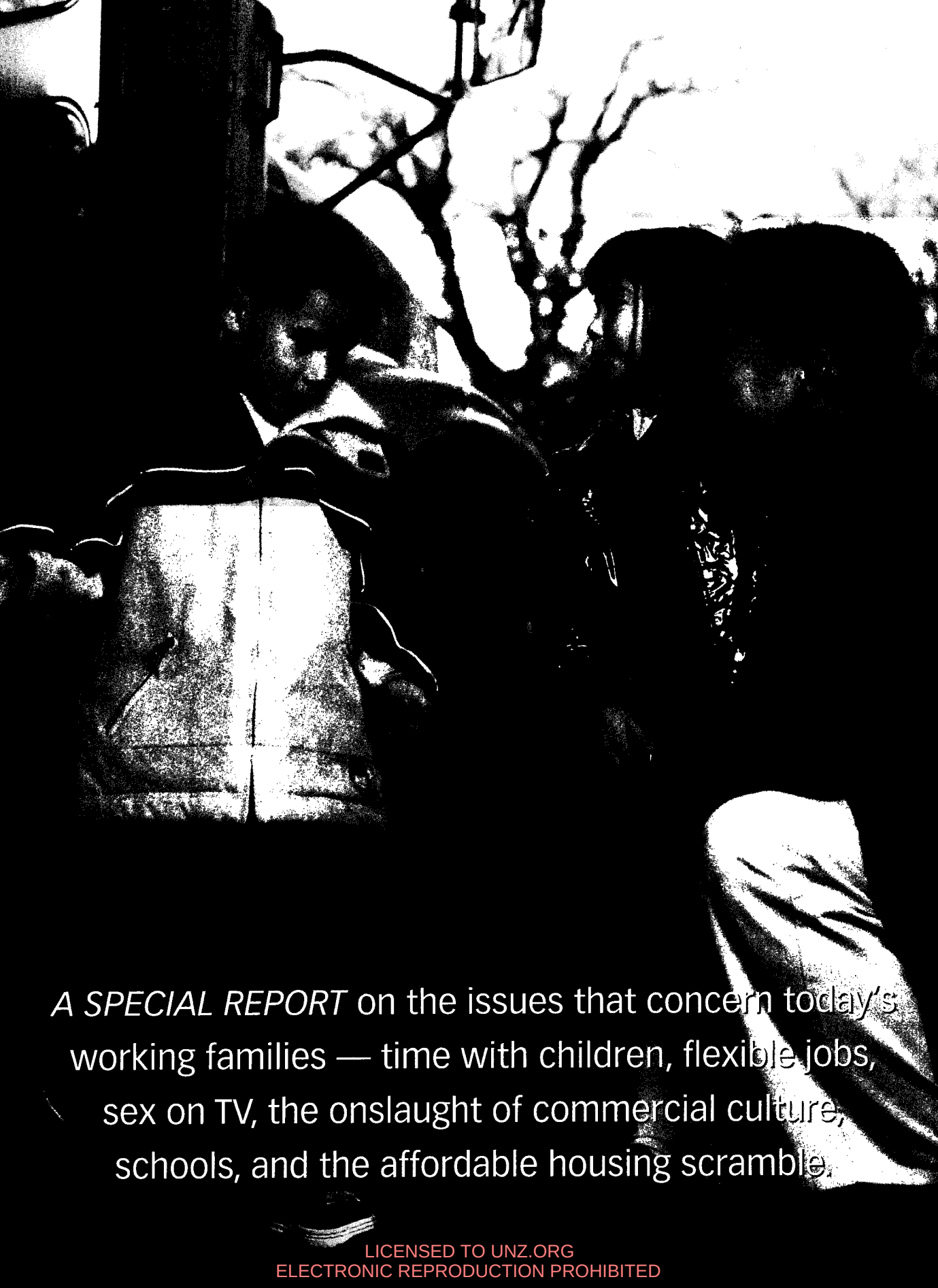

A SPECIAL REPORT on the issues that concern today's working families — time with children, flexible jobs, sex on TV, the onslaught of commercial culture, schools, and the affordable housing scramble.

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BEATING the work-family SQUEEZE!

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Finding time for family

Parents are working more than ever. They want more paid leave, flex-time, better child care, and support for fathers who nurture kids.

by Maureen Minehan

Few quality of life issues are felt more widely and personally than the work-family squeeze. With both parents working — or a single parent doing all the work and the child care — responsibilities at home and on the job are increasingly in conflict. As the knowledge economy raises the premium (and the reward) for dedication to work, more and more parents feel they are shortchanging their children and their future. Rushing from work to daycare to the store to the kitchen (and to the school and the sickbed on bad days), parents burn their energies at both ends and grasp for solutions while gasping for relief.

Balancing work and family responsibilities used to be so much simpler. Twenty-five years ago, working parents were far less worried about child care, elder care, unexpected family illnesses, and the need for flexible scheduling. In most cases, one parent stayed home, one parent worked, and the family met at the dining room table every night for dinner.

Times certainly have changed. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), 71 percent of American women with children under the age of 18 were employed in 1997, compared with only 47 percent in 1975.

At the same time that both parents in more families are working, the number of hours parents put in at their jobs has increased. According to BLS, 32 percent of the U.S. labor force works more than 40 hours per week. One out of every five employees works close to 50 hours per week or more. And the Louis Harris research firm reports that the median number of leisure hours per week declined from 24.3 in 1975 to 19.5 in 1997.

Maureen Minehan is a writer in Washington, D.C., specializing in human resource management trends.

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SCHEDULE SQUEEZE: Single parents, like this woman in Cranston, R.I., struggle to find time for work, education, and family. Rushing from job to daycare to store to home is the constant lot of today's stressed workers.

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"Given the hot labor market, the ability to conduct some types of work from any location, and the need for 24/7 operations, the work-family squeeze is likely to worsen."

Despite the time crunch, the upward trend in work hours shows no signs of abating. A tight labor market, technological developments that allow work to be conducted anytime, anywhere, and the growing demand for round-the-clock operations by businesses expanding into the global marketplace mean employers will be asking more of their employees, not less.

Yet employees, especially those under the age of 40, are beginning to resist the encroachment of work into their personal lives. A survey conducted earlier this year by the Radcliffe Public Policy Center shows that younger workers are much less inclined to sacrifice their family lives for financial rewards or career advancement. Eighty-two percent of the men and 85 percent of the women ages 20-39 said family time is their top priority. At least two-thirds of both groups said they would be willing to give up some of their pay for more time with their families.

Employers are aware of employees' concerns about work-family tensions, and many have introduced benefits aimed at easing employees' burdens. Unfortunately, many of these efforts are too limited, either in scope or applicability, to make a real difference to employees. Leave benefits, for example, are typically unpaid, meaning that few employees can afford to take advantage of them. Time-saving benefits, such as dry cleaning and shopping services, also are popular with employers trying to improve their employees' work-life balance, but, too often, heavy workloads mean the time gained is spent at work, rather than at home.

Given the hot labor market, the ability to conduct some types of work from any location, and the need for 24/7 operations, the work-family squeeze is likely to worsen unless new policies and strategies are introduced to help employees balance their work and personal lives. Possible solutions to the conflict between work and family responsibilities include:

Paid leave. Providing paid leave, whether through an employer-based system or through state unemployment insurance programs as suggested by President Clinton, would alleviate a major source of anxiety for working parents. Parents have long been frustrated by the lack of paid leave time available following the birth or adoption of a child or during a child's illness. Although the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 gave parents greater access to leave by requiring up to 12 weeks of unpaid time off for specific family and medical situations, it exempts recently hired employees and applies only to organizations with more than 50 employees. As a result, the law fails to cover half of employed fathers and 41 percent of employed mothers. Those who are covered by the law are not that much better off — relatively few employees can afford to take 12 weeks off without pay.

To rectify this, in June, President Clinton announced new measures to make parental leave more affordable for employees. Under the new regulations, states can amend their unemployment compensation laws to provide paid leave for new parents. The Department of Labor has promised to assist states that take advantage of the new regulations, and it reports that 15 states have paid parental leave proposals pending.

Child care. One of the deepest conflicts for working parents is child care — where to get it and how to afford it. According to a recent poll by The Washington Post, 58 percent of Americans are worried about parents' access to day care. This percentage is likely to rise as the number of Americans working non-traditional hours increases. Any parent who has been hit with the hefty $1 per minute many daycare centers charge parents arriving late to pick up their children knows there is little flexibility in daycare hours. For parents working odd hours or the night shift, commercial daycare options are extremely limited. Because parents performing shift work tend to be clustered in low-wage occupations, with little income to devote to in-home care such as nannies or au pairs, development of non-traditional day — and night — care options is critical.

Flexible scheduling. In a study of dual career couples by Catalyst, the New York-based research firm, 85 percent of the participants said that the best way for them to balance their work and family responsibilities would be to have the freedom

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GASPING FOR RELIEF: Telecommuting and home offices are a blessing for some parents, but such arrangements expand the work day, requiring yet another balancing act.

to change their schedules on a day-to-day basis, arrive late, leave early, or work from home. Flex-time, as it is sometimes called, helps parents with school-age children participate in their educational activities, a top priority for parents at a time when quality education is increasingly critical for success in our knowledge-based economy.

Telecommuting. Working at home by computer and telephone is frequently mentioned by employees as a usable tool in their struggle for work-family balance. Because it eliminates commuting time and increases employees' availability at home, telecommuting can be an effective strategy for workers in positions that do not require daily interaction at the main work site.

A pro-fatherhood culture. Creating an environment in which men feel comfortable availing themselves of family-related benefits accomplishes two things — working men are able to play bigger roles in their children's lives, and the burden of care-giving for children is distributed more equally between both parents. British Prime Minister Tony Blair's recent decision to seek a Third Way between parental leave and business as usual after the birth of his fourth child reflects the dilemma many men face over family-friendly benefits. Only a tiny percentage of men take advantage of benefits such as paternity leave, in large part because they fear their bosses and co-workers will view them as uncommitted to their jobs. Creating a national culture that values the contributions of fathers to families and encouraging employers to promote family-friendly benefits to their male employees both are key elements in relieving the stress of male and female workers.

The tension between Americans' work and family lives is unlikely to dissipate without a concerted effort by policymakers and employers to address the difficult challenges facing working parents. Developing policies that result in paid leave, improved access to child care, flexible work arrangements, and a culture that supports both parents' taking advantage of family-friendly policies would be a good start.

As policies are developed, policymakers and employers will have to keep in mind the different needs of employees working in diverse positions. There is no one-size-fits-all solution — the child care needs of shift workers are very different from those of professional employees working standard hours, for example. Today's family-friendly policies and practices tend to be most relevant to the American middle class, and care must be taken to also address the needs of those who fall outside that category. ▣

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Unions are adjusting to the changing needs of their members.

Working for families

Employers offer family-friendly perks, but what unionized parents want is more time off.

by Brian Robertson

Increasingly, labor unions are finding that more time for family and children ranks as one of the top concerns for members who are working parents. With the number of employed mothers at an all-time high and concern rising about the "parental-time deficit" and its effects on children — particularly in their early years of development — union negotiators and strategists are beginning to pay more attention to work-family issues in their negotiating agenda.

But what employer "family-friendly" policies are favored by the rank and file, and which policies are being emphasized in collective bargaining negotiations? Are there any notable trends in what the unions are doing on this issue?

In a January 1999 presentation to the League for Industrial Democracy, Institute for American Values President David Blankenhorn pointed out that "from a child's point of view, what we have today is not one cluster of policies called 'work-family' that share essential traits, but rather two clusters of policies — two separate kettles of fish — that in fact are quite different and in some ways opposite from each other in their design, effect, and impact." Blankenhorn argues that one set of so-called "family-friendly" policies — such as commercial or paid child care support — are actually "designed to free up parents to spend more time as workers" and hence work primarily in the interests of employers rather than families. Yet it is precisely these types of "work-family" policies, he maintains, that both corporate managers and public policymakers vastly prefer over allowing employees more schedule flexibility and free time to take care of their children. Because employers and politicians are often more interested in the bottom line — either in the form of less absenteeism or more tax revenues — they favor family-friendly solutions that keep the employee at the office, even if this means subsidizing day care.

But is subsidized child care high on the list of work-family policy priorities? A recent nationwide survey by *Parents* magazine and the I Am Your Child Foundation would argue otherwise:

Seventy-two percent of parents said they would rather stay home and raise their children than work, if money were not an issue. Parents set a high bar for the amount of time they want to spend with their children — at least five hours a day. Unfortunately, only 52 percent of parents surveyed report spending that much time with their children. Twenty-nine percent spend three to five hours a day with them, and 18 percent spend less than three hours. Among working parents, two-thirds of fathers (66 percent) and one-half of mothers (51 percent) are unhappy with the amount of time they dedicate to their children.

Other surveys have consistently shown that parents who find it necessary to utilize non-parental child care alternatives as a result of their work overwhelmingly choose less formal arrangements such as relatives, other family members, and neighbors over commercial day care for their children — this despite the fact that the government already allows substantial tax deductions only to families who choose accredited commercial facilities for their children.

Even families with working wives prefer higher wages and alternative work schedules to subsidization of non-parental child care as a solution to work-family stress. The Working Women's Department of the AFL-CIO found that 46 percent of women who are either married or living with someone and have a child under 18 work a different schedule than their partner.

The vast majority of this group, according to the survey, chose these separate shifts or alternative work hours to accommodate the needs of job and family, which seems to confirm the preference of working parents for avoiding commercial day care if possible.

A recent report by the Foundation for Child Development makes it clear that child care is simply not a top issue for union members. "The rank-and-file have not voiced a mandate for child care advocacy as a foremost issue. For example, in a survey conducted by the Working Women's Department of the AFL-CIO, equal pay and health care ranked above child care as the most important issues. Karen Nussbaum, director of the department, concludes that women are more likely to demand wage increases and use the money to pay for care themselves. . . . 'Child care

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can be a tough sell,' Nussbaum said, but some labor leaders believe it can be an excellent issue for organizing."

One way that advocates of corporate-subsidized care have dealt with this lack of enthusiasm for new child care programs has been to redefine child care broadly so they can convince more members that it should be a priority for collective bargaining. The Foundation for Child Development, a child care advocacy organization, reported:

"Many of the labor leaders interviewed hammered home the point that child care must be defined broadly to win the support of as wide a constituency as possible. Rather than viewing child care as only important for birth mothers of preschool-age children, unions need to look at child care as more broadly useful for working people and as part of a package of family supports. A broader understanding of child care as an issue that matters for both men and women and for parents and guardians of children from infancy to adolescence might produce different results. In several interviews, union leaders emphasized that child care should be defined broadly when asking members about their needs."

Union leaders are encouraged to focus on other aspects of the child care issue that might highlight the importance of investment in child care programs for rank and file members, including "the high cost of quality child care and the important role child care as an industry plays in economic development." Amy Dean, executive officer of the South Bay Labor Council, AFL-CIO, in San Jose, Calif., said union leaders should recognize child care as an "important component of the service infrastructure necessary to keep workers on the job." Existing legislative initiatives can also be used to demonstrate the growing popularity of child care as a political issue. Nussbaum emphasizes the need "to demonstrate to labor leaders that there's interest at the base, that the public responds, and there's political interest such as from the President, First Lady and/or Congress."

FLEXIBILITY: Even families with working wives prefer higher wages and alternative schedules to subsidization of child care as a solution to work-family stress.

Union leaders should give consideration to universalizing the child care tax credit or boosting deductions for children.

Have these consciousness-raising efforts on the part of child care advocates had any effect on union strategy or corporate policy on the child care issue?

The Foundation for Child Development reports that "some 1.6 million workers are covered by some type of child care benefits through their union contracts, according to a 1998 study." As far as specific unions go, the report refers to "a 1998 survey of agreements negotiated by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), covering 70% of the union's 1.3 million members, [which] found that 648,000 employees were covered." Recent agreements negotiated between the United Auto Workers and the Big Three companies — the Ford Motor Company, General Motors, and DaimlerChrysler — contain extensive child care provisions, covering 397,000 employees.

A survey of major unions to determine the trends in collective bargaining on the work-family issue confirms the shift toward child care programs — although the overwhelming number of work-family provisions in agreements reached still have to do with flexible scheduling, time off, and family leave.

As unions continue to adjust to New Economy pressures that often show up most dramatically in the context of family life, they might give more consideration to options that better reflect the desires of a large constituency of working parents, many of whom would choose to take more time off the job to devote to child care if they felt it were feasible. These could include universalizing the current child care tax credit or boosting the allowable individual deduction for children.

Brian Robertson is author of There's No Place Like Work *(Spence Publishing, Dallas, 2000), and a research analyst at the New Economy Information Service (www.newecon.org), where this article first appeared in a longer form.*

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TOUCHING MOMENTS: Network shows like *Felicity* leave less and less to the sexual imagination. One study found that 67 percent of prime-time shows contained sex or talk about sex.

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Crude, rude, and lewd

How to stop the glut of sex and violence on prime-time TV. Don't watch. Turn it off. Set rules. Then call the FCC.

by Senator Joe Lieberman

When I speak out about the rising tide of sex and violence in our popular culture and the harmful influence it is having on our children and our country, I am often asked by parents what they can do to stop it.

My answer is the same one that the television industry typically offers — turn it off. Don't watch violent, vulgar, or degrading programs. Set rules for your children's viewing and enforce them.

But I also encourage parents to pick it up – the telephone, that is. I urge them to call their local television station, or even the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) — 888-225-5322 — to voice their dissatisfaction with the damaging messages flooding into their homes.

Many parents skeptically and understandably ask what good that will do. They are convinced that television programmers won't listen to them.

The reason parents' complaints can have an effect on television broadcasters is that they have to listen. Local television stations have a legal obligation to serve the public interest and their specific communities. That is the commitment they make in exchange for free access to the public airwaves. And it is the FCC's job to enforce that compact.

To remind people about this point, I recently joined with Senator John McCain (R-AZ) in sending a letter to the FCC voicing our concerns about the degrading of the public interest standard. We asked a simple yet provocative question: Is the public interest being served by the glut of crud currently on the air?

Consider first the amount of violence on network and local broadcast television. Under pressure from a complaining public, broadcasters have modestly reduced the gratuitous murder and mayhem in prime time, and implemented a rating system to work with the V-chip. Yet on-air violence remains pervasive and excessive. In fact, according to a study by the Center of Media and Public Affairs, first-run syndicated programs averaged 37 violent acts per episode during the 1998-99 season.

Matters are worse when it comes to sexual content. As even the casual viewer has noticed, there has been an explosion of crude, rude, and lewd material in prime time. The Kaiser Family Foundation found that 67 percent of all network prime-time shows during the 1997-98 season contained talk about sex or sexual behavior, averaging 5.3 scenes with sex per hour; nearly one in 10 shows depicted or strongly implied copulation; 77 percent of all prime-time sitcoms contained sexual content, with those shows averaging nearly 6.7 scenes with sex per hour; 85 percent of all soap opera episodes contained sexual content, with an average of 4.4 scenes with sex per hour.

In the former "family hour" — the first hour of prime time — sexual references have now reached an average of 3.69 per hour, according to a study by the Parents Television Council (PTC). That's a 77 percent increase in 18 months. In 10 years, the amount of sexual material in prime time has increased by more than 300 percent, while the use of crude language increased by more than 500 percent.

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It's not just the quantity but the quality of the dialogue and the depictions that is so troubling. As the Kaiser and PTC studies have clearly documented, the sexual references and behaviors have become far more graphic and explicit. Even worse, they are usually shown without moral content or social guideposts. In most cases, sex is treated as a recreational activity with little consideration of consequences or connection to love or marriage. The Kaiser "Sex on TV" study found that only one in nine prime-time network shows (and only 3 percent of sitcoms) with sexual content include any reference to risk or responsibility.

A number of leading child development experts have raised serious concerns about the cumulative impact of these messages on our children. As far back as 1982, the National Institutes of Health declared television to be an "important sex educator." Since then, other studies "consistently point to a relationship between exposure to sexual content and sexual beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors," says University of North Carolina Professor Jane Brown, a leading expert in this field.

That connection was reflected in an eye-opening article in the *New York Times* earlier this year. The *Times* cited studies, researchers, and interviews with children to show that a disturbingly high number of preadolescents are engaging in sex. One of those studies, reported in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, found that 17 percent of seventh- and eighth-graders said they had already had sexual relations. In trying to explain this trend, experts frequently cite the alluring sexual messages the culture is raining down on children. And the young teens who were interviewed said much the same thing. One 13-year-old Manhattan boy traced his desire to have sex to watching Fox's *Beverly Hills 90210* on television as a third-grader. "I was interested," he said. "The people were cool. I wanted to try what they were doing on the show."

"In most cases, sex is treated as a recreational activity with little consideration of consequences or connection to love or marriage. One 13-year-old Manhattan boy traced his desire to have sex to watching Fox's *Beverly Hills 90210* on television as a third-grader."

Critics have repeatedly asked the networks to recognize this potential for harm and to tone down the sexual content of the programming when large numbers of children are in the audience. The industry has for the most part responded by denying that there is a problem. But some network officials have admitted that their programming strategy is to increase the sex and vulgarity quotient in order to compete with the racier fare on HBO and other cable networks. Their goal is to attract their desired younger and ideally male audience — a strategy that is often euphemistically referred to as "pushing the envelope."

This "anything goes" attitude is a far cry from the profession of responsibility made by broadcasters through the old National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) TV Code, the industry's vehicle for self-regulation for three decades. The NAB code acknowledged that television requires "exceptional awareness of considerations peculiar to the medium... [I]n selecting program subjects and themes, great care must be exercised to be sure that the treatment and presentation are made in good faith and not for the purpose of sensationalism or to shock or exploit the audience or appeal to prurient interests or morbid curiosity."

The code went on to state that broadcasters have a "special responsibility" to children. "In the course of a child's development, numerous social factors and forces, including television, affect the ability of the child to make the transition to adult society... Because children are allowed to watch programs designed primarily for adults, broadcasters should take this practice into account in the presentation of material in such programs when children may constitute a substantial segment of the audience."

The denials and excuses we routinely hear today from the industry raise serious doubts about the seriousness of many broadcasters in fulfilling their legal obligation to serve the public interest. Broadcasters are trustees of a public resource worth billions of dollars, which they get for free, in return for a pledge to act as responsible stewards of the airwaves. The license they receive is a legally binding contract, an especially important one given television's immense influence on our children and our culture. Yet the evidence I outlined above strongly suggests that many licensees, along with their network parents, are breaching this public trust,

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and harming rather than serving the public interest.

That is why Senator McCain and I called on the FCC to initiate a broad re-examination of the public interest standard and the license renewal process — to determine if in fact the broadcasters are serving "the public interest, convenience and necessity" (as the law requires) or whether the standard of service we expect of them needs to be strengthened. The FCC has already opened an inquiry on the broader question of the public interest obligations for the new digital television licenses that local stations have received. Our letter asked the commission to include the concerns we raised about programming standards as part of its deliberations.

We also asked the FCC to consider the merits of resurrecting an industry-adopted code of conduct to protect against the further erosion of broadcasting standards and to provide a broader platform for self-regulation. This idea, beyond having a long-standing and practical precedent, enjoys broad bipartisan support. Last year both the House and Senate overwhelmingly approved strong legislation encouraging the industry to re-adopt a voluntary code. And the commission the President appointed to advise us on the public interest obligations for digital broadcasters — which included several leading industry executives — unanimously endorsed the idea as well.

In our letter, we recognized that there are many good, socially responsible broadcasters and many good, socially responsible programs. Even when they touch on difficult or disturbing issues, these programs usually manage to put them into a responsible context and in the end enlighten us. They prove that broadcasters can air sophisticated, adult-oriented programming without violating the old NAB code's admonition against appealing to "prurient interests or morbid curiosity." And they have shown that they can do so while being sensitive to audience makeup; the networks typically broadcast the programs I'm talking about at 10 p.m., when fewer children are watching.

Sadly, those select programs, along with much of what broadcasters honorably do in their communities, are being overshadowed and overwhelmed by the on-air abundance of gratuitous sex and violence. The threat posed by the accumulated impact of these messages would be consequential at any moment, but it is especially so now, when children are gunning down their classmates and teachers and our country is plagued by an epidemic of teen pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases.

The evidence is so compelling, and the risks to our children are so serious, that we are obliged to ask whether the broadcasters are fulfilling their public trust. We hope that parents, grandparents, educators, and other citizens who share these concerns will ask the same question, and thereby help us engage the television industry in an honest dialogue about its legal and societal responsibilities. In the end, there is no better guardian of the public interest than the public itself. ■

END PRIME-TIME VIOLENCE: Despite availability of the "V-chip," shown here with Tim Collins, its inventor, violence remains pervasive on TV.

"We asked the FCC to consider resurrecting an industry-adopted code of conduct to protect against the further erosion of broadcasting standards."

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Who owns our children's minds?

Advertisers are selling a world-view. It's called materialism.

by Enola G. Aird

We try to teach our children to respect family traditions. They tell our children to "have it your way."
We struggle to teach our children how to restrain themselves. They tell our children to "just do it."
We work hard to help our children understand that virtue and character matter.
They tell our children that "thirst is everything, obey your thirst."
They have at their disposal multi-billion dollar budgets, the increasingly powerful tools of old and new media, and the skills of some of the most knowledgeable and inventive minds in the nation.
We have ourselves, our overworked families, and our often fragmented communities.

Mothers and fathers who struggle to raise good children in an evermore complex culture face stiff competition from advertisers and marketers, and the competition is about to get stiffer and the stakes even higher.

Advertising people call it the competition for "share of mind"— the quest to get inside our children's heads to persuade them to buy and to nag us into buying. This fierce competition goes well beyond our decisions to buy one product or another. It is a competition that will decide who will raise our children, who will determine their values, who will shape their characters.

Children "represent more market potential than any other demographic segment," according to James U. McNeal, a professor of marketing at Texas A&M University and a leading expert on the children's market. They are a sought-after demographic because, in addition to making their own purchases, they have a powerful and growing influence over their parents' buying decisions, and they hold great promise as future adult consumers. In 1998 alone, children ages 4 to 12 spent approximately $27 billion of their own money and 12- to19-year-olds spent $94 billion. Children directly influenced about $200 billion in parental purchases.

With the prospect of more and more revenue from the booming children's market, advertisers and marketers now spend over $2 billion each year on advertising to children, more than 20 times what they spent 10 years ago. The goal, as McNeal describes it, is "growing customers from childhood." Wayne Chilicki, an executive at General Mills, put it this way during the Promotion Marketing Association's Star Power '98 conference: "When it comes to targeting kid consumers, we at General Mills follow the Proctor & Gamble model of 'cradle to grave.' We believe in getting them early and having them for life." Chilicki echoed the sentiments of Mike Searles, former president of Kids 'Я' Us, who said in 1989 that advertisers "understand something that is very basic and logical, that if you own this child at an early age, you can own this child for years to come. ...Companies are saying, 'Hey, I want to own the kid younger and younger and younger.'"

In their quest to "own" our children, advertisers are breaking through barriers once considered unassailable and resorting to evermore manipulative strategies. According to a 1999 article in *kidScreen*, an online

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"Taboos: flatulence, saying bad words, making fun of adults or people's physical imperfections, are good for a laugh because they are representative of all the things that kids are forbidden to do," wrote a marketing executive

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"Advertisers are colonizing every available space in the name of marketing — from elevators to churches to airports to ATM machines to restrooms; no place is off-limits. Schools are especially favored targets."

industry newsletter, "There have never been more ways in the culture to support marketing toward kids, and there have never been more outlets to study how to speak to them. That makes the competition for kids' attention significantly greater, forcing advertisers to work harder to get inside kids' heads."

To a growing number of advertisers and marketers, children are nothing but a lucrative market to be exploited. These firms are more than willing to take full advantage of our children's vulnerabilities in order to maximize profits. And the competition is intense.

Advertisers think nothing of stirring up our children's antisocial urges. They do not hesitate to use shocking and base humor to grab our children's attention. "Taboos: flatulence, saying bad words, making fun of adults or people's physical imperfections, are good for a laugh because they are representative of all the things that kids are forbidden to do," wrote Chris McKee, chief creative officer of the marketing agency, the Geppetto Group, last year in *kidScreen*. Gene Del Vecchio, author of *Creating Ever-Cool: A Marketer's Guide To a Kid's Heart*, notes that, "Cool can also be forbidden. As kids get to the tween and teen ages and the desire for independence and rebellion raises its head, cool can become those things that are too edgy, too rebellious by many parents' standards."

Advertisers are colonizing every available space in the name of marketing — from elevators to churches to airports to ATM machines to restrooms; no place is off- limits. Schools are especially favored targets. Advertisers are invading public educational institutions with wall-to-wall advertising in hallways, cafeterias, and libraries. They are gaining access to classrooms with a range of advertiser-supported materials. Every day, Channel One delivers 10 minutes of news and two minutes of ads to approximately 12,000 schools and 8 million students. And Zap Me!, which provides interactive advertisements to students through the computers that it offers to schools, now has access to about 1.2 million children and plans to reach close to 10 million children by 2001.

Our children's classrooms are the main sites for a growing industry that invades our children's privacy and subverts the educational mission: in-school market research. Innovation Focus, a Lancaster, Pa., research firm, boasts of its ability to "explore the hopes, wishes, and dreams of children and to apply those discoveries to the growth of [a client's] business." Margaret Owens, a director of discovery and innovation at the firm, contends that schools are popular places for research on children because young people "are most comfortable on their own turf with their peers. That level of comfort, especially with children, is important in getting honest, open communication."

Advertisers and marketers are relying to an unprecedented degree on the potent tools of psychology to probe our children's minds and emotions to exploit them. The level of psychological manipulation of children by these industries is so great that late last year a group of 60 psychologists from diverse institutions declared that it had reached "crisis" proportions. In a letter addressed to the American Psychological Association (APA), the psychologists denounced the increasing use of psychological knowledge to commercially exploit and manipulate children. The letter, drafted by Gary Ruskin of Commercial Alert, an advocacy group that opposes advertising and marketing excesses, and Allen Kanner, a clinical psychologist at the Wright Institute in Berkeley, Calif., noted that this practice is "reaching epidemic levels. The result is an enormous advertising and marketing onslaught that comprises, arguably, the largest single psychological project ever undertaken." A spokesperson for the APA says it plans to appoint a task force to explore the issues raised in the letter and to make recommendations for action.

Meanwhile, the onslaught continues. With the formidable resources at their command, advertisers are targeting our children at younger and younger ages with the avowed purpose of turning them into lifelong consumers. At a March 2000 conference in New York called "Play-Time, Snack-Time, Tot-Time: Targeting Pre-Schoolers and Their Parents," leading advertisers, marketers, and programmers met for two days to share strategies for creating "brand loyalty" in the

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preschool market. They talked about "new media for the 0 to 3" age group, and how to "capitalize on the growing cognitive, emotional, and persuasive strengths of a younger than ever segment by targeting these youngest kids directly."

It seems that advertisers will stop at nothing when it comes to the competition for a share of our children's minds. The problem, as mothers and fathers well know, is that advertisers are not just selling products, they are selling a world-view. They are promoting a value system that thousands of times each day bombards our children with messages that glorify self-indulgence, instant gratification, an ethic of "me first," and what Debbie Weber, a professor of marketing and advertising, has called the "gotta-have-it or gimme attitude." These are values flatly at odds with the values that responsible parents seek to teach their children. In fact, what mothers and fathers teach, advertisers and marketers aggressively undermine. Little wonder that in poll after poll Americans express deep concerns that our children are becoming more materialistic, rude, and undisciplined, and are losing touch with basic notions of civility.

A strong and growing body of psychological evidence indicates that people who watch a great deal of television, with its incessant stream of commercials, have more materialistic values, and that materialistic values are associated with increased depression, anxiety, substance abuse, interpersonal problems, and antisocial behavior. According to Allen Kanner and Timothy Kasser, two of the psychologists who signed last year's letter to the American Psychological Association, "studies on 'materialism' show that individuals highly focused on materialistic values also report less satisfaction with life...worse interpersonal relationships, more drug and alcohol abuse, and less contribution to community...[and this process contributes] to the formation of a shallow 'consumer identity' that is obsessed with instant gratification and material wealth."

To be sure, advertisers and marketers are not solely responsible for this problem. But with billions spent each year on psychological studies and advertising designed to promote explicitly antisocial values, advertisers should no longer be allowed to avoid their share of responsibility.

In the competition for share of mind, mothers and fathers seem to be losing. But it is not too late to fight back. Advertisers need to know that they cannot own our children. They should not be free to continue to pervert our children's values. They should not be permitted to exploit our children in their classrooms. They should not be allowed to use the techniques of psychology to manipulate our children. They should be prohibited from targeting our babies and toddlers.

What can be done? One answer is for Congress to give the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) full authority to undertake a comprehensive rule-making on advertising and marketing to children. In the late 1970s, the staff of the FTC proposed restrictions on advertising aimed at young children on the theory that such advertising is inherently unfair. Congress responded by passing the Federal Trade Commission Improvements Act of 1980, which, among other things, prohibited the commission from promulgating "any rule [asserting] that such advertising constitutes an unfair act or practice." This tied the commission's hands. Although the statute's reach is unclear, it remains on the books and is an impediment to an unfettered and vigorous FTC response to the growing abuses in advertising to children.

As a first step in safeguarding our children, this law should be repealed. The hands of the FTC should be untied to permit it to deal aggressively with what has now become a profound threat to our children and our society. Furthermore, Congress should direct the FTC to initiate a broad-based rule-making to protect children from harmful advertising, and it should provide adequate funding to permit the FTC to carry out this task with a sense of urgency for the well-being of our nation's children.

Even more than a competition for a share of our children's minds, this is a competition for a share of their souls. ■

"What mothers and fathers teach, advertisers and marketers aggressively undermine. Little wonder that in poll after poll Americans express deep concerns that our children are becoming more materialistic, rude, and undisciplined, and are losing touch with basic notions of civility."

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AFTER-SCHOOL PROGRAMS

by Andrew Rotherham

With families feeling time pressure and educators concerned about academic performance, interest is rising across the country in high quality after-school and summer school programs. Extended learning time helps families juggle their tight schedules and job responsibilities and also provides students with academically enriching experiences and positive activities. Parents get a safe place for their children after-school hours and during the summer; educators get extended learning time for their students to reach the challenging academic standards that states are putting in place.

The social benefits of extended learning time programs are readily understood by parents: Supervised kids in well-structured activities are less likely to get into trouble than are youngsters without supervision. In fact, law-enforcement personnel support extended learning time programs in schools for precisely this reason. Juvenile crime increases during the after-school hours; after-school programs are an effective strategy to combat this. In a survey released last November, police chiefs from across the country overwhelmingly ranked providing more after-school programs as a more effective strategy to combat youth violence than hiring more police officers or prosecuting more juveniles as adults.

Fortuitously, the drive for more after-school and summer school programs comes at a time when our students also need them more than ever academically. Students throughout the nation are having difficulty meeting Information Age standards while attending school on an agrarian-era schedule. As a result, states and communities are using summer school and after-school programs as a tool to provide students with the extra time and support that they need to reach more challenging and content-rich standards. Extended learning time programs are a key component of the drive to raise student achievement and end social promotion.

It follows that extended learning time shouldn't mean just more of the same or programs that serve only a handful of students. But right now this is too often the case. According to the U.S. Department of Education, 63 percent of all schools offer some sort of extended learning time program but serve, on average, only about 11 percent of their students. In addition, many of these activities are not designed to foster academic improvement for struggling students — or are simply an extension of the regular school day. Fortunately, many school districts are aware of these issues and are beginning to use innovative strategies to make extended learning time more valuable, including contracting with private sector providers. An excellent example of this is Voyager Expanded Learning, which partners with school districts to provide after-school, summer school, and enrichment programs. Last year more than 200,000 students in over 1,000 school districts participated in Voyager programs; results indicate both improved academic performance and parental and school satisfaction with the company.

School districts also are working with other private sector companies, community-based organizations, including faith-based groups, and other partners to deliver enriching experiences to students in the after-school and summer school hours.

Not all students will need extended time to excel academically; however, schools must make extended learning time available for students who need extra help. And, for students who just need a safe place to go while their parents are at work, after-school and summer school programs are a good way to help parents deal with the stress of balancing home and work.

WORK-FAMILY STRESS AND SCHOOLS

by Judy Packer-Tursman

To examine extended learning time programs at work, BLUEPRINT took a look at Montgomery County, Md., outside Washington, D.C. Montgomery County is using extended learning time to help provide supervised activities for students in the after-school hours and to help improve achievement for struggling youngsters as part of an overall strategy to close the achievement gap.

With 130,000 students to serve, Montgomery County has joined forces with city governments, PTAs, nonprofit groups, and concerned individuals to provide extended school coverage during much of the problematic time of 2 p.m. to 8 p.m., when youngsters are most often without supervision and juvenile crime increases.

The county has spent about $250,000 annually over the past two years to pay and train coordinators who oversee and publicize after-school activities from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. in the system's 35 middle schools. It has poured the same amount into buses for safe transportation home in the late afternoon. The focus on middle-school students came in response to a county task force report citing increases in juvenile violence and substance abuse in this

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age group. "The studies are coming down that this is a critical age, the age we have to address," says Ginny Gong, director of the county office that coordinates the use of schools and other public facilities. "Otherwise, [the kids] are out on the streets."

On average, each middle school offers about 20 programs, with at least half a dozen activities to choose from daily. Children need variety if they are to be attracted to the programs and will not gravitate to lackluster offerings, says Gong. "They're at an age when it has to be a cool thing to do. Sports activities are pretty popular," as are supervised homework sessions, self-assertiveness training programs for girls, and art, music, and drama clubs.

An estimated 80 percent of the county's elementary schools provide PTA-sponsored language and science classes. French and Spanish language instruction is offered twice a week after school for third- through fifth-graders, while eight-week sessions on science topics outside the school curriculum are available for pre-kindergarten through sixth grade. Through Educational Programs Inc., a nonprofit corporation founded in 1975, the PTA also offers three- or five-day-a-week enrichment programs for half-day kindergarteners.

At a time when school systems across the United States are looking for solutions, Montgomery County has found some surprisingly simple answers for students of all ages and backgrounds:

• At Rolling Terrace Elementary School in Takoma Park, Md., seven in 10 students are on the free lunch program, and nearly one-third of the students are just beginning to acquire the English language, says Principal A. Robyn Mathias. Her 755 children come from more than 20 countries. Fifty-three percent are Hispanic, 23 percent African-American, 15 percent Caucasian, and 9 percent Asian, largely Vietnamese. The school has a family counseling service called Project Amigo and holds two types of English language programs for adults in the evening, with child care provided. Two years ago, Community Bridges Inc., a nonprofit community group in Silver Spring, Md., started Jump Start, an empowerment and leadership program for girls — mainly from the Carribean, Africa, Southeast Asia, and Latin America — who are eligible for free/reduced meals. All fourth- and fifth-graders are required to stay for an additional hour of math or reading instruction two days a week, and a private daycare program supervises students in the all-purpose room from 7 a.m. until school begins at 8:50 a.m., and after school until 6 p.m. Senior volunteers provide social mentoring and reading assistance to children. The school pays teachers a stipend to work an extra hour, providing tutoring, computer, science, art, and choral activities and non-competitive sports instruction.

• At Julius West Middle School in Rockville, Md., where about 30 percent of the 950 students get free or reduced meals and many of the rest are affluent, principal Jim Fernandez has discovered parents will drop off children in the wee hours whether the school allows it or not. "I think we do something that's a little different. For those parents who feel strapped, I pay a teacher to be on duty starting at 6:45 a.m. They all go into the cafeteria. We don't even advertise it. Before the first bus arrives in the morning, there are at least 25 to 30 kids in there." When the day ends at 2:40 p.m., anywhere from 120 to 200 children stay for activities that include a social awareness club for girls and Brotherhood of Superstars, a motivational program primarily for African-American and Hispanic boys. The school runs an extensive intramural sports program and tutoring services. Buses take students home at 4 p.m.

• At Walt Whitman High School in Bethesda, Md., one of the system's more affluent schools, principal Jerome Marco says, "A lot of our parents stay home, because they have the wherewithal to do that." Yet when the last bell rings at 2:10 p.m., three-quarters of its 1,750 students are involved in after-school sports. Some attend after-school internships at the nearby National Institutes of Health and National Naval Medical Center, while others choose among more than a dozen parent-sponsored clubs for chess, camping, cycling — even boys' baking. "I have a PTA executive committee of nearly 150 parents, so we have a very active community here," he says. "It's very supportive." On a practical note, he says more than 90 percent of the students go on to colleges and universities, and they want to put extracurricular activities on their applications.

"By having an extended day, I know they're going to get all the academics and be able to take advantage of other opportunities," Mathias says. "Our test scores are going up. We've scored better than others, with less of what they call an 'educational overload.' This is an effort that our staff has made to make sure our children get as much exposure to academics as they can. We feel strongly about making the school a warm place where they want to come."

Andrew Rotherhman is director of the 21st Century Schools Project at the Progressive Policy Institute. Judy Packer-Tursman is a freelance writer and former Washington correspondent for the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.

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Facing the new suburban housing crunch

The quest for affordable housing has become a middle class crisis — and it has moved into the suburbs.

by Michael A. Stegman, Roberto G. Quercia, and George McCarthy

Michael A. Stegman is MacRae professor of public policy and business and director of the Center for Community Capitalism at the University of North Carolina (UNC) at Chapel Hill. Roberto G. Quercia is assistant professor of city and regional planning at UNC. George McCarthy is a senior research associate at UNC's Center for Urban and Regional Studies.

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HOME SCRAMBLE: Even with booming construction, 1.3 million suburbanites have a "critical housing need" — they're spending more than half their incomes for housing or living in substandard dwellings.

Among the top quality of life issues facing Americans across the income spectrum today is the increasing difficulty of finding affordable housing. What's new and important is that the issue is no longer a crunch felt primarily at the bottom of the income scale. Instead, it has moved with surprising rapidity and reach well into the middle class. It has also reached well into the suburbs, following the pattern of the nation's population and job growth. For the first time, in fact, the number of working families with critical housing needs is higher in the suburbs than in the central cities. (We deemed families to have critical housing needs if they spent more than half their income for housing or live in substandard homes or apartments — or both.)

These are the key findings of a comprehensive survey of the nation's housing needs that we recently completed. While the poor have by far the highest incidence of housing needs, an exclusive focus on very low-income families overlooks the fact that more than 3 million moderate-income families face a critical housing need despite working the equivalent of a full-time job. Of these, 1.3 million live in the suburbs, 1.2 million in the central cities, and the remaining 513,000 working families live in rural areas.

Our study focused on working families with incomes from minimum wage ($10,700 annually) all the way up to 120 percent of the local median income (nationally about $44,000). In a striking finding, more than half (51 percent) of families with critical housing needs are homeowners. Because our measure of homeowner costs — payments for mortgage principal,

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interest, property taxes, and homeowner's insurance — does not include utility or maintenance costs, our study probably understates the extent of many homeowners' financial strain. And because most low- and moderate-income homeowners do not itemize deductions, the mortgage interest deduction had little impact on their housing costs.

We started with the simple proposition that families that work hard and play by the rules should have a decent place to live at an affordable price. But for most of the last 20 years, because federal housing policy has implicitly or explicitly linked housing problems to poverty and welfare dependency, we have failed to recognize that this core American value is under serious threat.

"While excessive housing costs account for three-quarters of critical housing needs, 650,000 working families across the country occupy seriously substandard housing and more than three times as many live in moderately inadequate homes and apartments."

The affordable housing problem is growing rapidly. The number of working families with critical housing needs rose by about 17 percent (440,000 families) just in the two years from 1995 to 1997. Seventeen percent more working families also lived in severely or moderately deteriorated housing in 1997 than did two years earlier, and the rise among renters in this category was an astounding 29 percent. Consider some salient examples:

- In Los Angeles and Orange counties, for example, 278,000 jobs have been created since 1984, but only 78,000 new homes have been built.
- Amid a booming, diversified economy, the number of existing single-family homes in Houston listed for sale for less than $150,000 dropped by 50 percent from June 1995 to June 1999.
- A recent survey by the New York state controller found that 86 percent of businesses cited housing costs as a serious deterrent to attracting firms to New York. Surveys in Lake County, a Chicago suburb, and Livingston County, in suburban Detroit, have found similar results.
- In Silicon Valley, the shortage of affordable housing has grown so acute that, of the homeless population in Santa Clara County in 1999 (about 20,000 people), 34 percent had full-time jobs, up from 25 percent in 1995.

The problem is especially acute among public service workers and blue-collar employees. About 220,000 teachers, police, and other public safety officers across the country spend more than half their income for housing — more than double the number in 1993. More than 730,000 working families with one or more blue-collar workers also spend more than half their incomes for housing, as do more than 550,000 service workers and a similar number of retail sales workers.

While excessive housing costs account for three-quarters of critical housing needs, 650,000 working families across the country occupy seriously substandard housing and more than three times as many live in moderately inadequate homes and apartments. The problem of housing deterioration is substantially higher than average in New York, San Francisco, and Houston.

Finally, even as we focus on the new middle class housing crunch, we should not lose sight of the fact that workers at the bottom rungs of the economic ladder have the highest incidence of critical housing needs. While about 10 percent of all working families spend more than half their income for housing, this is true for 45 percent of those earning up to the full-time equivalent of the minimum wage — more than 500,000 families.

Given how important decent housing is to American aspirations — and the possibility that the scarcity of affordable housing could put a brake on economic growth and displace long-term residents in communities across the country — the housing needs of working families clearly justify a higher place on the policy agenda. Just as New Democrats strive to create new policies for the New Economy, we must also forge new policies and coalitions to address the critical housing needs that these economic forces are creating for working families.

Policy Implications

With more suburban than urban working families experiencing critical housing needs, and with more than 80 percent of all new metropolitan housing construction taking place in the suburbs, new affordable housing policies must appeal to suburban voters as much as to the Democrats' traditional big-city constituencies.

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Here are four elements of a new approach:

- Create an individual development account (IDA) savings incentive program for working families. Although the national homeownership rate rose to a record high of 67.1 percent in the first quarter of 2000, minority homeownership rates are still more than 25 percentage points below the white rate. Helping working families save for a down payment — the biggest hurdle to buying a home — makes good policy and political sense. Home equity accounts for more than half of all assets and alone far exceeds the present value of retirement accounts held by African-Americans and Hispanics. The best way to help families save for houses is by creating a national IDA program such as the one proposed in the bipartisan Savings for Working Families Act of 2000 (S. 2023), jointly introduced in the Senate on Feb. 2, 2000, by Sens. Joseph Lieberman (D-Conn.) and Rick Santorum (R-Pa.). S. 2023 would give financial institutions federal tax credits to match the deposits of working families, encouraging the families to save for a down payment on a first home or for other limited purposes. IDAs are included in the fiscal 2000 congressional budget resolution, were embraced by President Clinton in his 2000 State of the Union address, and were endorsed by the presumed Republican presidential nominee in an April 11, 2000 speech in Cleveland.
- Leverage the powerful tool of homeownership vouchers to encourage homeownership. Though the provision has received much less attention than it deserves, current law allows Section 8 tenant-based rental assistance (i.e., housing vouchers) to be used to help a family buy a home. In partnership with community-based organizations and the housing industry, we should create a major voucher initiative to help low-income working families buy a home. Under one Section 8 homeownership pilot now under way, a first mortgage is underwritten using the borrower's current income from employment, and a 10-year homeownership voucher is used to fully amortize a second mortgage that covers the difference between the home price and the sum of the down payment and first mortgage.
- Increase and broaden demand-side assistance. We also need more demand-side assistance, but not just more tenant-based rental assistance. About 60 percent of all working families with severe housing cost burdens own their homes, which means that there is an important role for homeownership vouchers and other forms of assistance. Expanding the federal Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) for the working poor, especially for large families, and adopting supplemental state EITC programs in high housing cost areas would also help relieve the housing stress of working families. Similarly, states should use a portion of their surplus welfare block grant to fund rental assistance programs for families making the transition from welfare to work.
- Capitalize housing trust funds. Housing trust funds have played more important roles in the affordable housing arena than their modest budgets might suggest, largely because they allow for local control and flexibility and make projects work by filling financing gaps. They are the proverbial straw that stirs the drink. We should use federal tax incentives to help capitalize state and local housing trusts to encourage more entrepreneurial behavior at the local level and reward communities that build affordable housing considerations into their smart growth and urban sprawl containment policies.

By embracing this agenda, we are not suggesting that government acting alone can solve the affordable housing problems of working families. This is not only a broadly popular issue, but one on which organized labor and the Chamber of Commerce should see eye-to-eye. As syndicated urban journalist Neil Pierce so aptly put it: "Critical clout has to come from the business community, too. Unless it's out there fighting for housing opportunities for its workers, even those at the bottom of the pay scales, it can't count on a work force. Business should be lobbying, locally and regionally, for a sharply expanded affordable housing stock." ■

"The best way to help families save for houses is by creating a national individual development account program (IDA) such as the one proposed in the bipartisan Savings for Working Families Act of 2000."

This article is based on Housing America's Working Families, *a study prepared by the authors for the Center for Housing Policy, a nonprofit research affiliate of the National Housing Conference. The full study can be found at www.nhc.org.*

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We need a new set of public-private initiatives to deal with a record juvenile population and the unintended consequences of today's anti-crime policies.

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MORE COPS, MORE ARRESTS: During the 1990s, violent crimes fell by 22 percent.

Keeping crime on the run

by John J. DiIulio Jr.

From 1960 to the early 1990s, violent crimes (murders, rapes, robberies, and aggravated assaults) as reported to state and local police and tallied by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) soared by 450 percent, including a 23 percent rise between 1980 and 1990. But from 1990 to 1998 the violent crime rate fell by 22.3 percent. Despite an increase in murders in New York and several other big cities, violent crime was down again in 1999. Through annual victimization surveys, the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) counts virtually all property and violent crimes. Since 1993 the two indices have moved largely in tandem and clearly in the right direction. In recent polls most citizens have said that they feel safer in their own neighborhoods.

Over a quarter-century's worth of public investments and private efforts were bound to slow or reverse the climb in crime. They did, but certain laws must still be obeyed — the laws, that is, of diminishing returns and perverse and unintended consequences. Merely repealing old public laws or passing new ones will not do. Over the next decade the nation's record juvenile population (more than 70 million and counting) will enter its most crime-prone years. To keep crime going down, deal with this demographic bulge, and mitigate the adverse social consequences of present anti-crime policies, a new set of public-private initiatives will be needed.

First comes the challenge of explaining why crime dropped. Theories abound. Some cite changes in policing. Others stress the demise of crack-cocaine. Still others cite drops in the number of young males, or improved economic conditions, or carrot-and-stick anti-violence efforts undertaken through law enforcement partnerships with community and church leaders, or packed prisons, or federal policies like the Brady handgun-control bill and "100,000 cops."

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"Nobody predicted or truly understands the decline in crime, but that will not keep responsible leaders and concerned citizens from searching for effective ways to keep crime on the run."

Each of these theories has lots of explaining left to do. For example, policing reform was a big part of the crime-drop story in New York, but not in Los Angeles and several other big cities that have also enjoyed dramatic reductions in crime. Neither crack-cocaine nor drug-selling, gun-toting street gangs have disappeared. Such data as we now have give only tentative answers to the question of what fraction of the crime drop has been due to increased imprisonment.

Diminishing Returns

Nobody predicted or truly understands the decline in crime, but that will not keep responsible leaders and concerned citizens from searching for effective ways to keep crime on the run, nor should it. Begin by acknowledging that we have yet to return to the levels of public safety enjoyed by our parents and grandparents, or to the days when it was not wishful thinking to call youth criminals "juvenile delinquents."

In 1960 the violent crime rate was 160.9 per 100,000 citizens. By 1970, the rate had risen to 363.5, on the way to 596.6 in 1980 and 731.8 in 1990. The violent crime arrest rate per 100,000 persons aged 10 to 17 rose from 131.4 in 1975 to 239.5 in 1990, a 182 percent increase. Youths perpetrated 137,000 more violent crimes in 1994 than they did in 1985. As murders by adults fell, murders by juveniles and young adults rose. For example, between 1983 and 1995, the murder commission rate for white males aged 14 to 17 doubled to 20.8 per 100,000, and the rate at which black males of the same age cohort committed murder more than tripled to 165.8 per 100,000. Over the same period, the murder commission rate per 100,000 white males aged 18 to 24 jumped from 23.5 to 31.6, while for black males it doubled from 137.7 to 288.3 (1 in 357).

In 1968 Washington began what became a steady stream of multi-billion-dollar federal investments in all manner of crime prevention, intervention, and enforcement programs. During the 1980s, Congress passed at least one new crime or drug control bill every two years. On the heels of the 1993 Brady handgun-control law, the 1994 omnibus federal crime bill mandated life imprisonment for federal criminals convicted of three violent offenses; banned certain assault weapons; and authorized about $9 billion to hire local police, $8 billion to build state prisons, and $7 billion for crime prevention programs.

Still, Washington rightly remained the junior partner in crime control. State and local governments poured more money and personnel than ever into the three c's of criminal justice administration: courts, cops, and corrections. Meanwhile, urban public schools installed metal detectors and increased security budgets. Millions of private citizens and business owners made crime-avoidance lifestyle changes (no walking alone at night, no driving without locking the car doors); purchased guns and home security systems; joined neighborhood watch groups; created gated communities; hired rent-a-cops; and took other measures to make the places where they lived, worked, shopped, attended school, and recreated relatively impervious to crime. For safety's sake, crime-weary city dwellers, black and white, moved in droves to the suburbs.

Then comes the matter of unintended consequences, some quite negative. Take sentencing policy. As crime began to climb, the nation's prison population fell, from about 213,000 in 1960 to 196,000 in 1970. The average time served by prisoners fell, too. Back then, many leading liberal Democrats doubled as anti-incarceration ideologues. It took over two decades and the rise of the New Democrats for the party to recover fully from this folly, but recover it did. In the mid-1980s, Democrats in Congress and in many states called for sentencing felons convicted of murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault to prison for more than a few years.

They succeeded. State prisons held 1.1 million felons in 1997, up from 690,000 in 1990. Violent offenders accounted for 50 percent of the total increase in state prison populations during this seven-year period, drug offenders for 19 percent, and property offenders for 16 percent. The average time served in state prison by violent offenders was about 43 months in 1993 (representing 47 percent of sentence). Violent

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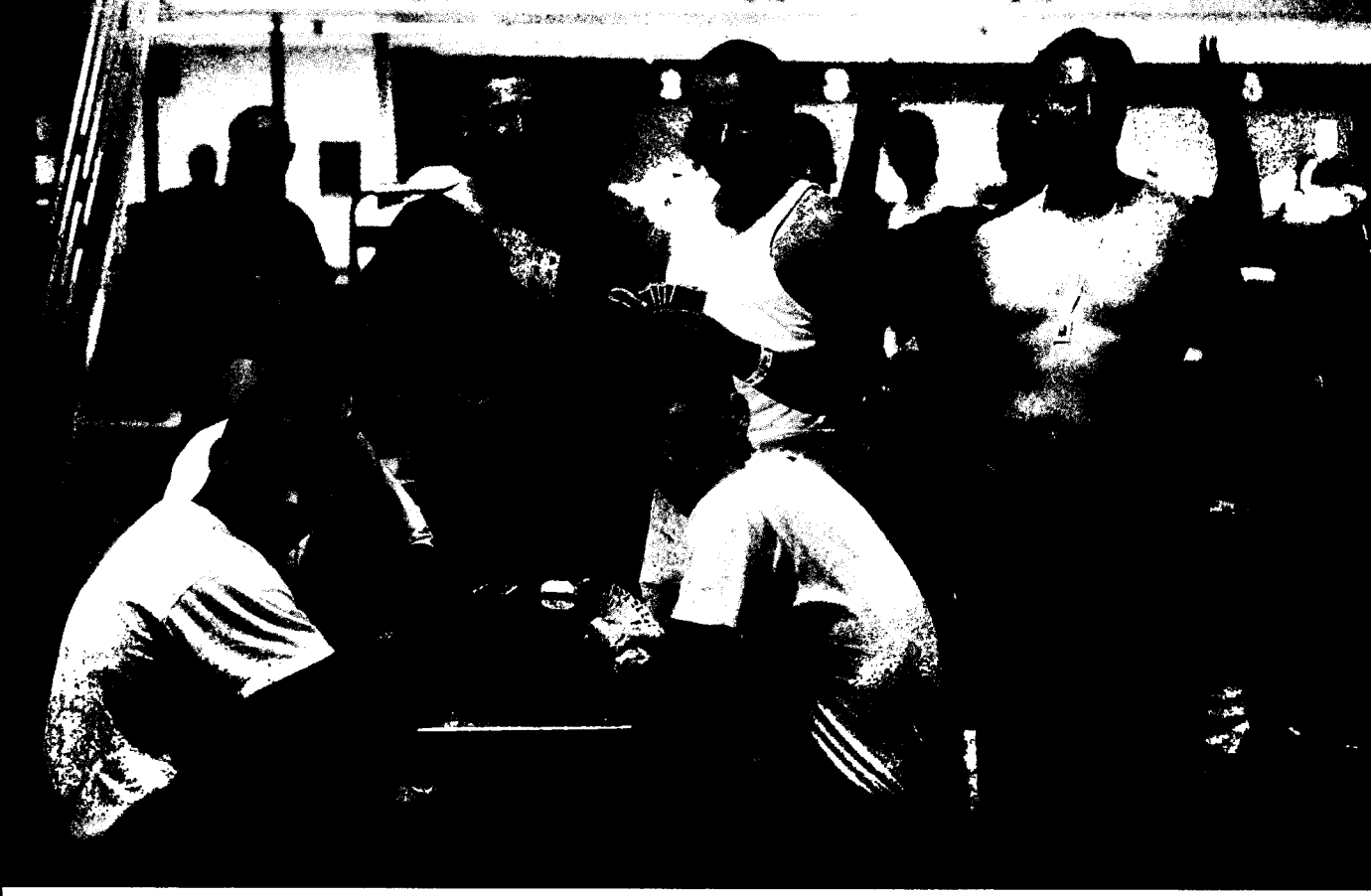

PACKED PRISONS: Putting more violent felons behind bars for longer terms has helped to cut crime. But the ratio of drug-only offenders is rising, even though incarcerating them has no public-safety value.

felons admitted to state prison today will serve an average of close to 88 months (representing roughly 80 percent of sentence), or double the average time served by violent offenders released in 1993.

Putting more convicted violent felons behind bars for longer terms has helped to cut violent crime. BJS data document that 62 percent of state prisoners in 1991 had been convicted of one or more violent crimes, and that felons who were back in prison for a parole violation or a new crime in 1991 had committed at least 6,800 murders, 5,500 rapes, 8,800 assaults, and 22,500 robberies while out on parole. BJS statistician Patrick A. Langan has estimated that had the post-1975 prison population not risen as it did, in 1989 alone there would have been 390,000 more murders, rapes, robberies, and aggravated assaults. University of Chicago economist Steven D. Levitt has estimated that each additional incarceration averted about 15 crimes a year, including two or three violent crimes. Criminologist Richard Rosenfeld has estimated that increased imprisonment has accounted for more than a quarter of the decline in homicides.

But in mid-1999, as the prison population approached 1.3 million, the ratio of violent to non-violent felons entering prisons fell. For example, studies by myself and others have estimated that in 1997 about a quarter of persons admitted to state prisons, and over half of those admitted to federal ones, were drug-only offenders, meaning felons whose only crimes, detected or undetected, were nonviolent drug-dealing offenses. The public-safety value of imprisoning drug-only offenders is nil.

The justice system is becoming progressively less capable of distributing sanctions and supervision rationally. For example, Harvard economist Anne Morrison Piehl has estimated that about half of all persons imprisoned on drug charges in Massachusetts have no known record of violence, while half of the state's community-based probation population consists of known violent felons.

Especially given the sorry state of probation, this is insane. In 1999 the Manhattan Institute's Center for Civic Innovation (CCI) published a report drafted by five present and past presidents of the nation's leading

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End racial profiling

Stopping people according to race is not only wrong, it doesn't work. It also undermines faith in the police.

by John D. Cohen, Janet J. Lennon, & Robert Wasserman

Until recently, African-American drivers on the New Jersey Turnpike stood a much greater chance than white drivers of being stopped by the state police for a random drug search. This practice — an example of racial profiling — ended abruptly in 1999 when public outrage forced the removal of the state police superintendent.

The outcome in New Jersey was, however, the exception rather than the rule. Since then, the debate over racial profiling has been re-inflamed by fatal confrontations in New York, police investigations in Los Angeles, even a report that customs agents are using profiling to target black women.

In fact, law enforcement agencies throughout the nation commonly use tactics that subject members of certain minority groups to closer scrutiny than others. When a police officer detains and investigates a person or group of people primarily because of their race — absent any information linking them to criminal activity — that officer is engaged in racial profiling.

For example, for several years, police have known that African-American gang members from New York City fly to Florida to buy cocaine. These gang members then use rental cars to transport the cocaine back to various locations in the Northeastern United States. Aware of this pattern, police officers from various agencies have adopted an enforcement approach in which they select primarily cars driven by African-American males traveling northbound on Interstate 95 to stop and search for drugs. While these stops have occasionally led to seizures of illegal drugs, they have also resulted in individuals who are not involved in illegal activity being stopped and detained. This is a violation of basic American rights and it should be stopped.

Racial profiling is not limited to enforcement activities on the highway. An African-American actor is presently suing the City of New York following his arrest in the lobby of his apartment building. He was arrested, along with five other African-American males, during a police operation intended to arrest suspected drug dealers. The actor was placed into custody for five hours and strip-searched, even though he was not in possession of any drugs or involved in any criminal activity.

If racial profiling were a matter of simple bigotry, it would be easy to condemn and ban. But law enforcement officials, including some African-American police chiefs in big cities, defend such tactics as an effective way to target their limited resources on likely lawbreakers. They maintain that profiling is based not on prejudice but probabilities — the statistical reality that young minority men are disproportionately likely to commit (and be the victim of) crimes. Citing these facts, the courts have repeatedly upheld the constitutionality of routinely using race as a criterion for selecting the targets of enforcement action.

Of course, there are situations in which police must take race or ethnicity into account to do their jobs effectively. An obvious example is when skin color is part of a description of specific suspects committing specific crimes. In addition, such descriptions help police narrow the pool of potential suspects and concentrate their enforcement efforts. Let's say that a police department has knowledge that jewelry store salespeople are being robbed. The robberies occur just after the store closes when the sales personnel are leaving work. Witnesses describe the suspects as male, Hispanic adults. Police are also told that prior to past robberies, witnesses have observed several Hispanic males seated in a car that matches the description of what is later to be determined as the suspect vehicle. Based on this scenario, a police officer would be justified in investigating a vehicle containing a group of Hispanic males parked adjacent to a jewelry store at closing time. And even though the criteria used by police to target this vehicle includes that the occupants are Hispanic, the police are not using "racial profiling." However, if police officers from this department — in an effort to stop these robberies — made it a practice to stop any and all vehicles occupied by male Hispanics, anywhere in the city, at any time, they would be engaged in racial profiling.

Political opposition to racial profiling is mounting. President Clinton has called the practice "morally indefensible" and ordered federal law enforcement officials to collect information on the race and sex of people they stop. Vice President Al Gore has promised to ban racial profiling by federal authorities.

Progressives should press for an end to profiling on both civic and practical grounds. First, racial profiling corrodes the presumption of innocence to which all American citizens are entitled. It is always dangerous to stray from the bedrock

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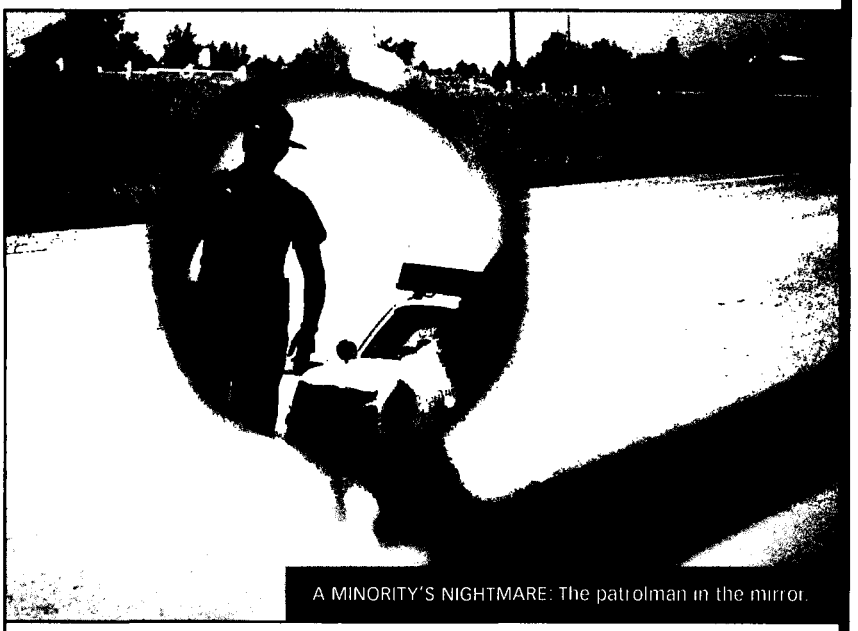
liberal principle that individuals must be judged on their own merits, not on their class, race, ethnic background, or gender. Second, whatever gains the police may reap from profiling are overwhelmed by its costs: alienating law-abiding citizens and reinforcing the view in poor communities of the police as an occupying force rather than a common instrument for self-defense. Even the perception that racial profiling occurs erodes the trust between communities and the police — a trust that is essential to the community-oriented policing efforts that have fueled the nation's dramatic reductions in crime.

We should do all we can to buttress these alternative policing approaches: community-based strategies augmented by real-time access to information that can help police target people who have actually committed crimes as opposed to people who happen to be members of racial or ethnic minorities. After all, profiling uses race as a proxy for criminal intent or culpability because police often lack specific information about specific individuals. Modern information systems and strong police-community interaction that foster the exchange of information will ensure that police make decisions based on facts and data instead of race.

Specifically, we propose four key strategies to eliminate racial profiling by providing officers with the tools and training necessary to employ information and data-driven decisionmaking and targeted enforcement:

- *Deploy information technology more effectively.* We must develop and deploy information technology systems to put accurate, timely information about the location of criminal activity and the people involved in it in the hands of cops on the street. The technology exists to dramatically improve shared information within the criminal justice system — but it has not been deployed. A number of the recent destructive police-community interactions — including the three lethal shootings by police in New York — might have been avoided if officers had had ready access to detailed suspect information on a handheld computer with them in the field.
- *Concentrate on "hot spots."* Law enforcement resources should be concentrated on high-crime "hot spots" in a way that enlists full community involvement and support and builds on a clear understanding of neighborhoods, their people, and their conditions. The significant reduction in crime realized by the HotSpot Program, under the leadership of Maryland Lt. Gov. Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, provides a clear model for replication.
- *Focus on high-risk offenders.* A small number of offenders commit the majority of crimes. Identifying and targeting these dangerous, high-risk offenders should be a priority for both law enforcement and community members.
- *Improve police recruitment and training.* Police recruits need training that provides them with the tools they need to work with communities to identify and address criminal activity. In addition to focusing on defensive tactics, recruits should be trained in information technology, diversity/cultural sensitivity, and community organizing. Police departments should screen applicants for the ability to treat all citizens with respect and hire recruits with comparatively better communication skills and greater versatility in problem-solving.

A progressive strategy, therefore, should strive toward two key aims: reducing crime and improving relations between minority communities and the police. Fortunately, these goals are compatible and mutually reinforcing. There is simply no need for Americans to choose between greater public safety and policing methods that fail to treat all citizens with equal respect.



A MINORITY'S NIGHTMARE: The patrolman in the mirror.

"Even the perception that racial profiling occurs erodes the trust between communities and the police."

John D. Cohen, president and CEO of PSComm, LCC, directs the Progressive Policy Institute's Community Crime Fighting Project. Robert Wasserman is chairman of PSComm. Janet J. Lennon, a New York attorney, is the former president of the National Black Prosecutors Association.

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THE COMING CRIME WAVE? As many of the 1.9 million children of convicted fathers enter their teens, a surge in youth violence is expected.

"The low-income children of incarcerated adults are the most severely at-risk youth population in America — at risk of failing in school, suffering abuse and neglect, suffering from untreated illness, becoming crime victims, ending up incarcerated themselves."

associations of probation workers. The report stated that, with more than 3.4 million persons on probation, over half of them convicted felons, "widespread political and public dissatisfaction with community corrections has often been totally justified." At least half of probationers commit new crimes while "under supervision." Probation has simply lost track of about 350,000 probationers, including thousands of violent felons. Most "intensive" supervision probation programs remain shams. In many cities, "fortress probation" by officers who literally never see their "cases" except on paper is the administrative norm.

The CCI report offered a blueprint for "reinventing probation" in ways that would promote public safety while helping probationers to get off drugs, find jobs, and otherwise function as responsible citizens. It generated lots of media attention, and it has since sparked a dozen or so local probation reform initiatives. Still, public spending on probation remains paltry (about $200 per year per probationer), and statewide probation reform efforts have hardly even begun.

Likewise, virtually nothing is being done to mitigate the indirect social costs of anti-crime policies. These costs include 1.9 million children who on any given day have one or both parents behind bars, and tens of millions of ex-prisoners with dim life prospects. By every measure, the low-income children of incarcerated adults are the single most severely at-risk youth population in America — at risk of failing in school, suffering abuse and neglect, suffering from untreated illness, becoming crime victims, ending up incarcerated themselves, and more. When their parents leave prison — as over 1 million persons did in just the last three years — they typically return home with uncorrected drug habits, unmarketable job skills, or both.

Also, as more and more veteran police officers and drug-enforcement agents now concede, our decades-old crackdown on drug-dealing felons has morphed into socially polarizing law enforcement practices such as racial profiling on state highways, hassling or harassing urban minority kids who are merely hanging out on street corners, and so on. As I have argued elsewhere, the time has come to repeal the mandatory-minimum drug sentencing policies that encourage such negative policing practices, take parents away from their

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children, deny or delay effective drug treatment, and yield little or nothing in the way of improved public safety.

Safer Directions

To deal with these unwelcome byproducts of our current policies, the focus for New Democrats and compassionate conservatives alike should be on three key populations — drug-only felons, felony probationers, and the low-income urban children of imprisoned adults. Federal policies can help.

Start with the children. The only organization with any major presence in the lives of both prisoners and their children is Prison Fellowship (PF), an international Christian para-church organization started a quarter-century ago by ex-Watergate felon Charles Colson. PF ministers to prisoners in every state, and last year it mobilized some of its 60,000 church-based volunteers in America to deliver Christmas gifts to nearly 500,000 children of incarcerated adults. PF is in the process of expanding this program, known as Angel Tree, to 1 million children. Meanwhile, the nation's largest and best-known secular mentoring organization, Big Brothers Big Sisters of America (BBBSA), is in the process of expanding its present list of about 160,000 "active matches" to a million. Chaired by former Republican Sen. Dan Coats, BBBSA is already partnering with faith-based organizations and developing a promising set of school-based mentoring programs.

Together, PF and BBBSA could put responsible, caring nonparental adult mentors and ministers into the lives of nearly all low-income urban children who have lost a father or mother to prison or jail. The two organizations have entered into preliminary discussions about jointly developing a prototype program in Philadelphia. Researchers at Public/Private Ventures and the University of Pennsylvania are poised to monitor the program's implementation and measure its results.

The so-called charitable choice provision (section 104) of the 1996 federal welfare reform law made it possible for Washington to fund faith-based social welfare programs via contracts and vouchers on the same basis that it funds any other non-governmental providers of such services. If the PF/BBBSA partnership becomes real, and if the Philadelphia prototype shows objective signs of real promise, then the next president and Congress should help it come to other cities through an expansion of charitable choice or by other legislative means.

Next, bring the reinventing government drive to state and local probation so that fewer first-time felons become career criminals, waste years behind bars, never parent their children, and never work for a living. The aforementioned CCI report, and the spring 2000 issue of Corrections Management Quarterly, provide a plan of attack. The next president and Congress should encourage the Department of Justice to work with top state and local probation leaders, financially leverage (but not lead or overtake) their reinvention initiatives, and commission independent research to document the results and determine how, if at all, successful initiatives can be replicated.

Finally, research by Yale psychologist Sally Satel and others clearly suggests that "coerced abstinence" substance abuse programs of various types work. BJS researchers have reported that fully half of all adult probationers and state prisoners committed their latest offenses while under the influence of alcohol or drugs.

Still, the federal government has not widely funded such programs for offenders in prison, in jail, on probation, or on parole. The 1989 report of the first federal drug czar, William Bennett, lamented that "millions of individuals who need help to stop using drugs" do not receive effective treatment. The 1999 report of drug czar Barry McCaffrey called for "closing the public treatment system gap." There are thousands of existing programs, religious and secular, public and private, in prisons and on the streets, that can be harnessed now to close that gap.

In sum, nothing is guaranteed to keep crime going down, but getting a more positive public policy grip on the children of prisoners, drug-addicted offenders, and felony probationers is a wise, humane bet. ■

"In sum, nothing is guaranteed to keep crime going down, but getting a more positive public policy grip on the children of prisoners, drug-addicted offenders, and felony probationers is a wise, humane bet."

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Catching criminals in the DNA web

We need to vastly expand the genetic database of violent offenders.

by Rutt Bridges

The case file in the rape of a 12-year-old Englewood, Colo., girl was starting to yellow. A sketch of the suspect hadn't produced anything concrete, and the case grew colder with each passing year. Then, in 1999, the Colorado Bureau of Investigation linked a DNA "fingerprint" from the evidence file to a man recently imprisoned for another sexual assault.

Chalk Up One More Victory for the DNA Detectives.

Today, some of the nation's most effective crime fighters don't wear blue uniforms. They wear white lab coats and study DNA fingerprinting, the process that many believe will dramatically enhance criminal investigation and the reliability of convictions for a wide variety of crimes. Unfortunately, successes such as the Colorado case are severely limited by the scarcity of DNA fingerprints on file. Unless the web of DNA data is significantly widened, America will fail to exploit the full potential of this powerful new crime-fighting technology.

DNA, the chemical that embodies a person's genetic programming, can be found almost everywhere. Burglars leave blood samples when breaking and entering. Assailants shed hair and skin cells in fights. Terrorists and kidnappers inadvertently convict themselves by licking the envelope of a ransom note. Criminals of every ilk deposit saliva on glasses, telephones, and cigarette butts and leave spittle and sweat stains. From a single cell, enough DNA can be duplicated to "fingerprint" the owner and link him or her to a crime.

Under a new profiling system know as Short Tandem Repeats, DNA is measured only at 13 specific sites, where chemicals are repeated in a kind of stutter. The count of these repeats creates a unique DNA fingerprint. Except for in identical twins, these 13 numbers are highly variable from one person to another, pinpointing an individual with a probability of one in several billion.

Criminals often move from state to state to avoid detection. With more and more states contributing crime evidence and DNA fingerprints, the FBI has a growing web of information to link crime scenes across state boundaries. Every new sample added to the FBI's national database is immediately checked against all DNA fingerprints from unsolved crimes throughout the nation. This provides early recognition and linkage of serial crimes even before a suspect is identified, providing a broad net to quickly ensnare some of the most elusive and violent offenders.

At this time, most states require some sort of DNA testing but differ widely on who gets sampled. DNA fingerprinting is generally done on sex offenders, but if we are to realize the full value of this technological breakthrough, sampling must be expanded to a much wider audience. We must cast a far wider DNA web. State legislators — such as Colorado's Jennifer Veiga and Dan Grossman— have been leaders in widening the DNA web.

Why expand testing to non-sexual offenses? For one reason, most rapists have prior convictions for lesser crimes and DNA has proved to be a powerful

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investigative tool for solving a wide variety of crimes, from burglary to murder. But DNA databases can't be effective if only a few samples are on file.

This technology has made a dramatic difference for law enforcement. For example, historically rape cases had the lowest conviction rate of any violent crime: only half the cases resulted in arrests, and only half of those ended in convictions. Today, rapists with DNA on file can be quickly identified, arrested, and prosecuted. Faced with compelling DNA evidence, suspects often confess rather than face a jury. And DNA evidence helps detectives avoid wasting time chasing false leads and protects innocent suspects.

Typically felons commit numerous crimes before being sent to jail. In one study, sexual predators admitted to an average of 250 criminal acts prior to their conviction. One can only imagine how many lives were disrupted or destroyed by these crimes and how many victims were left waiting for justice that never came. DNA evidence linked to a powerful and well-stocked database can help detectives solve many different crimes much more quickly, sparing innocent people the terror of an assault.

The FBI's new database is likely to provide answers to many unsolved crimes. But it cannot be effective without the DNA fingerprints of possible suspects. Having those fingerprints could prevent us from releasing inmates who are guilty of many other major crimes. And requiring fingerprints may discourage some, especially young offenders without a history of brutal behavior, from lives of violence.

And DNA doesn't just identify the guilty. It also can clear the innocent of crimes they did not commit, freeing the falsely convicted. In Illinois, Republican Gov. George Ryan declared a moratorium on executions after 13 death row inmates were exonerated.

This of course undermines the claim of George W. Bush, who has allowed more than 130 executions as governor of Texas, that "each person who has been executed in my state was guilty of their crime." Regardless of a person's position on capital punishment, recent experience demonstrates how effective DNA fingerprinting can be at ensuring that innocent people aren't put to death. And Bush himself recently granted a stay of execution so that DNA evidence could be evaluated.

LAB SLEUTH: Some of the nation's leading crime fighters wear white coats, not blue uniforms. DNA fingerprinting can now be done from the saliva on a licked envelope, sweat stains on a shirt — or even from a single human cell.

In 1996 the DNA fingerprints of a California prisoner, Gerald Parker, were run through a state DNA database. "Hits" occurred on four cases of violent rape and murder, to which he subsequently confessed. He also confessed to a similar fifth crime for which a man named Kevin Lee Green had been wrongly convicted and imprisoned for 16 years.

No one wants to see the wrong person in prison. But false convictions also mean that the guilty are still on the streets and still committing violent crimes.

Breakthrough technologies are quickly adopted by businesses. DNA fingerprinting needs to be expanded to include at least all convicted felons. It is up to our state legislators to see that government aggressively pursues this innovative technology to protect its citizens and ensure that justice and law are one and the same. Criminals need to know that we have their numbers. ■

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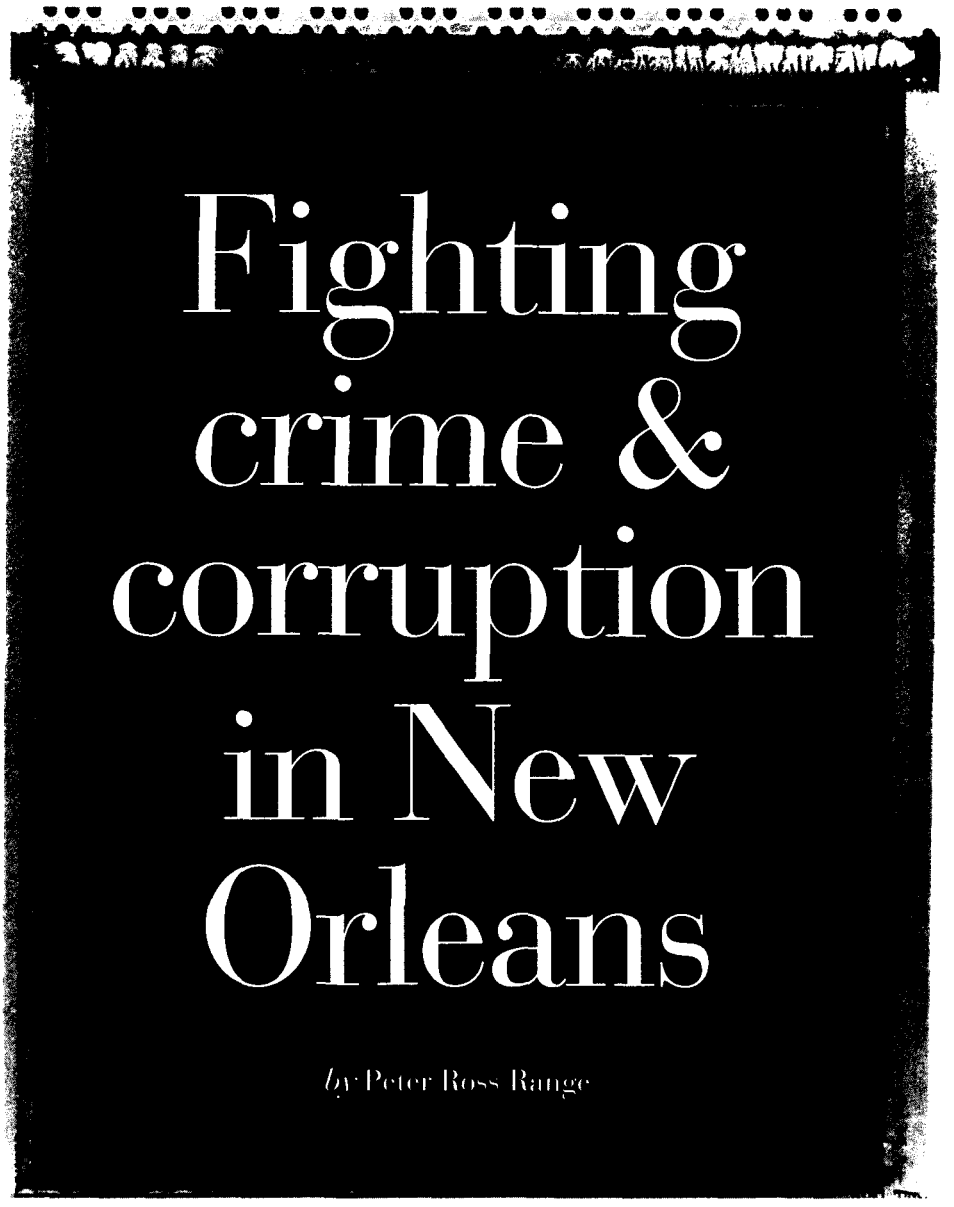

Fighting crime & corruption in New Orleans

by Peter Ross Range

Once known as Murder City, U.S.A., New Orleans has adopted modern police techniques to slash crime and boost its image.

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"Now we know exactly what's going on and can put our officers where they are needed. It's like a football coach using x's and o's to tell his team what to do." –Superintendent Pennington

Amid the hoopla about crime reduction in New York City, an equally impressive story has sometimes gone overlooked 1,200 miles to the south. In New Orleans, a city long known for its Big Easy lifestyle, a concerted effort at police reform and crime reduction over the past six years has achieved considerable success — and spawned lessons for other cities.

Despite a reputation for corruption and laissez-faire policies, New Orleans has used smart politics, public-private partnerships, federal funds, and openness to outside help to create one of the leading reform stories of the 1990s. Labeled in the mid-1990s as "Murder Capital, U.S.A.," New Orleans now claims one of the fastest dropping crime rates in the nation despite a recent upsurge in murders. In addition, under the leadership of a new police superintendent imported from Washington, D.C., using methods borrowed from New York and personnel lent by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the New Orleans Police Department (NOPD) has dramatically reshaped and reformed itself from a vortex of vice to a tightly managed organization with a powerful Public Integrity Division. The result may be a model for the 2000s.

Between 1994 and 1999, the murder rate fell 63 percent, assaults dropped 60 percent, and armed robberies were down 49 percent. A recent quality of life survey conducted by the University of New Orleans found that local voters feel safer than at any time since 1986; the percentage of voters who believe that crime is decreasing has gone up in the past six years from 1 percent to 57 percent. Keys to the New Orleans Police Department turnaround were:

- A crackdown on internal corruption (fueled in part by the U.S. attorney and the FBI) that led to nearly 200 dismissals and criminal charges, including two murder convictions of police officers;
- Decentralization of personnel to neighborhoods, with increased responsibilities and accountability for district commanders;
- Reintroduction of community policing with federal support, including substations in public housing projects;
- Dramatic pay increases and stringent recruitment standards, including the hiring of 500 new officers to bring the department up to the minimum recommended strength of 1,700;
- An infusion of federal funds and the strong engagement of the local business community to purchase new equipment, finance salary increases, and reduce the need for police officers to accept corruption-prone moonlighting jobs as private security;
- Rigorous accountability procedures based on the COMSTAT reporting and tracking system developed by former New York Deputy Police Commissioner Jack Maple; the system drives accountability down the chain of command to the officer on the beat.

Before the turnaround, New

COMMITTED LEADERS: Superintendent Richard Pennington, above, has brought statistical methods and down-the-ranks accountability to a troubled police department. Between 1994 and 1999, the murder rate fell 63 percent. Mayor Marc Morial, below, says bringing tough enforcement and a youth curfew to New Orleans was "a little bit like Nixon to China."

Peter Ross Range is the editor of BLUEPRINT.

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Orleans was in a slow downward spiral and, in 1994, the city hit bottom. With 425 murders and equally alarming numbers in other crime categories, America's favorite Mardi Gras destination also earned the title of America's most violent city. Tourists were being scared away, new businesses were on hold, downtown construction was nearly at a standstill. Longtime residents were fleeing New Orleans for the suburbs. Things were so miserable that the city was tainted with the ultimate symbolic badge of dishonor, an exposé on "60 Minutes" by Mike Wallace.

The TV show, and other sobering statistics, shocked the city. Already, a young state senator named Marc Morial, son of the city's first black mayor (Dutch Morial, who served 1978-1986), had run for mayor on a law-and-order platform and won. Voters realized they needed a tough internal cleanup and some relief from the crime wave. While most of the criminals were black, so were most of the victims; New Orleans is 66 percent African-American.

"It was a little bit like Nixon to China," admits Morial in the spacious mayor's office with its portraits of Jackie Robinson and the Kennedy brothers, Jack and Bobby. "When we introduced a tough curfew, people could see it as a white police force picking on black kids. But I could go into the churches and say, 'There's no reason for your babies to be out after 9 o'clock,' and the heads would nod."

The curfew — which requires youths under 17 to be off the streets by 9 p.m. (11 p.m. on weekends) — has been a success, reducing youth crime by 27 percent during the hours of enforcement. "All we were doing was using a structured curfew to reinstate the old community code from when I was growing up — you had to be indoors, or at least on your porch, when the street lights came on."

Creating a curfew was easy compared to the other challenges Morial faced. Not only was New Orleans in the grip of a seemingly unmanageable crime spiral, but the forces of light — the police department — were in fact part of the darkness. Reports of police brutality and corruption were rampant, triggering a federal investigation. Police officers were implicated in protecting drug stashes and tipping drug lords off to impending raids or attacks by other narcotics gangs. Police officers moonlighting as security for bars and clubs often turned a blind eye to underage drinking and drug sales. Forty thousand arrest warrants were backed up in department files. Citizens were as afraid of the police as they were of the criminals and avoided filing complaints for fear of retaliation.

"Not only was New Orleans in the grip of a seemingly unmanageable crime spiral, but the forces of light — the police department — were in fact part of the darkness. Reports of police brutality and corruption were rampant."

"By 1994 it was so bad that I was almost embarrassed, after 25 years on the job, to put on the uniform," says Capt. Michael Ellington, now commander of the 6th district.

One of Morial's first moves was to bring in an outsider to shake up the police department. Richard Pennington had been assistant police superintendent in Washington, D.C., where he had won high marks for instituting community policing in high-crime neighborhoods. As an outsider, "I didn't know anyone, and I didn't owe anyone," says Superintendent Pennington today.

Even with a mandate to clean up "inside crime" before attacking "outside crime," Pennington's job got harder right from the beginning. Within hours of the new superintendent's swearing in, a police officer who heard that a complaint had been filed against him had the complainant — a woman — executed in cold blood. A few months later, another police officer — a woman — participated in the robbery of a restaurant and killed three people by shooting them in the head, including her sometime police partner who was working that night as security in the restaurant. Both offending officers received death sentences, a searing symbol of how far the NOPD had sunk (one officer's sentence was changed to mandatory life but is on appeal).

Pennington's brief was clear and, with guidance from Jack Maple, now a crime-fighting consultant, he instituted sweeping reforms. First, the ineffectual internal investigation division was disbanded. In its place, a Public Integrity Division was created — and moved

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MARDI GRAS: New Orleans' reputation as a murder capital scared people away from the French Quarter. Now they've returned in droves, and mounted police help keep order during pre-Lenten celebrations.

out of police headquarters to an independent location that was designed to be more accessible to citizens. "Some people might be intimidated to come into headquarters to file a complaint and then find themselves in the same elevator with the cop they were complaining about," says Major Felix Loicano, whom Pennington chose to run Public Integrity.

In addition, Pennington dramatically decentralized police structures. Mayor Morial had already removed 100 police officers from desk jobs in city hall and the police headquarters onto the streets ("from seats to streets"); now the highly centralized detective division was dissolved and deployed to the eight district commanders. Assigned to each district and working elbow-to-elbow with uniformed officers, detectives are now often the second official to arrive on a crime scene; information is exchanged quickly. "Before, we answered a lot of calls for service but there was no follow-up," says Lt. Lonnie Swain, commander of the 7th district. "A lot of information got lost in the shuffle between here and downtown."

More important, moving the detectives to clearly defined districts where they have turf to protect has generated a sense of geographic pride not felt when all the detectives were based downtown and assigned to the whole city. "When you're based in the district, you take more responsibility for everything that happens there," says Swain.

The key to the new accountability is COMSTAT, an outcomes management system based, simply, on computerized statistics. Rather than providing a general summary of where crime is occurring, analysts in every district headquarters now generate computerized maps of every week's crimes — various icons, or dots, on a large street map. Every Wednesday afternoon, district commanders convene their unit chiefs for a rapid-fire show-and-tell with the maps projected on a wall. Each officer knows he must have answers: the crime trends, the exact disposition of each investigation, patrol times and personnel deployment, who is out of jail and back on the streets.

District commanders then use the maps — Lonnie Swain wields a laser pointer — to deploy their troops: "directed patrolling," it's called. "Joe, put your people in zone Q this week," said Swain one Wednesday afternoon when a cluster of armed robbery icons appeared in a certain neighborhood. These obvious, but not always practiced, tactics were introduced by Maple under the rubric "put cops on dots." So far, it has worked. "One week we flooded a zone that had shown a cluster of robberies, and after four days we caught the bad guys in the act," says Swain. "That led us to a house where they had stashed more than $100,000 worth of stolen goods."

COMSTAT reporting has to be precise

"'One week we flooded a zone that had shown a cluster of robberies, and after four days we caught the bad guys in the act,'" says Lt. Lonnie Swain. "'That led us to a house where they had stashed more than $100,000 worth of stolen goods.'"

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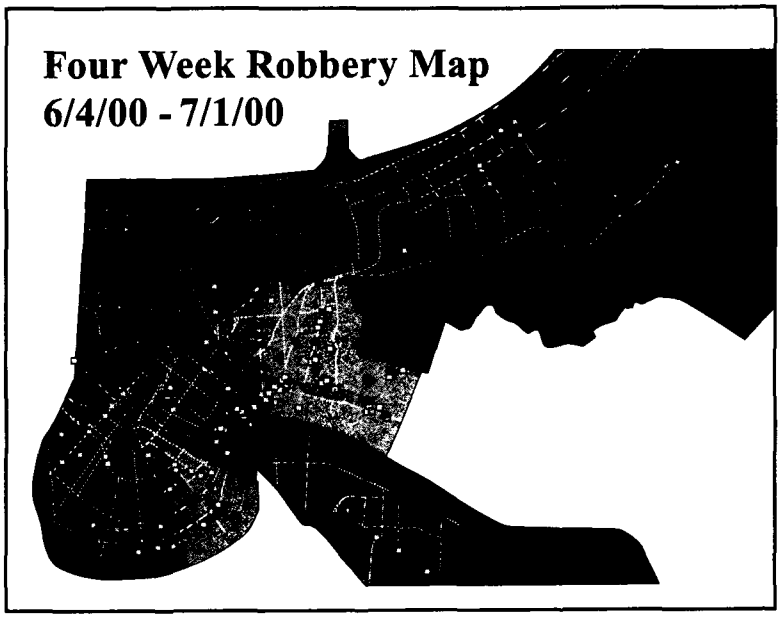

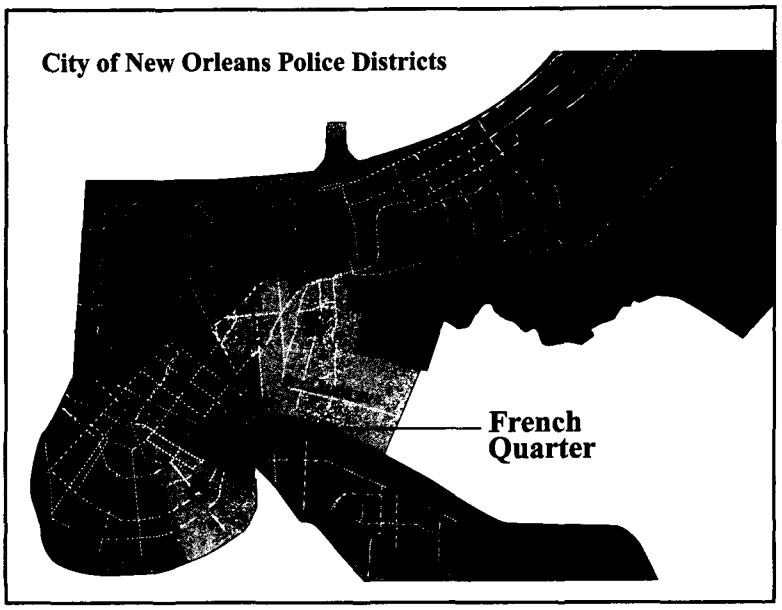

because, on Friday mornings, each district commander travels to police headquarters for a similar grilling by Superintendent Pennington and three assistant superintendents. Any question — about a crime, an investigation, the state of equipment, the exact deployment of forces — that is not satisfactorily answered will be asked again the next Friday. "You know you're going to be held accountable," says Swain. In short, the pressure is on — on everybody. And the system is unrelenting. "We haven't missed a COMSTAT meeting in three-and-a-half years," says commander Ellington.

While district commanders are proud of their COMSTAT record, Pennington sees the system as near-revolutionary. "It has made a world of difference. Before, a district commander couldn't really tell me about specific crimes. I would say, 'Where's it happening?' He would say, 'All over.' Now we know exactly what's going on and can put our officers where they are needed. It's like a football coach using x's and o's to tell his team what to do."

One way the accountability push succeeds is by giving frontline officers wider decision-making latitude. With an emphasis on problem-solving, not just arrests, officers are encouraged to cooperate with social service agencies when they find kids out after curfew. The idea is to look behind the surface violation for larger causes, such as drug use, family dysfunction, even housing problems, without pushing the issue all the way up the chain of command. "By giving them discretion and responsibility, you're giving the frontline officers ownership," says police spokesman Marlon Defillo. "They take pride in getting problems solved."

A big part of New Orleans's success was built on the public-private partnership created when the business community formed the New Orleans Police Foundation. With 24 board members from the top ranks of New Orleans business and an annual budget of $1.6 million, the foundation played a key role in persuading the city council to forgo an

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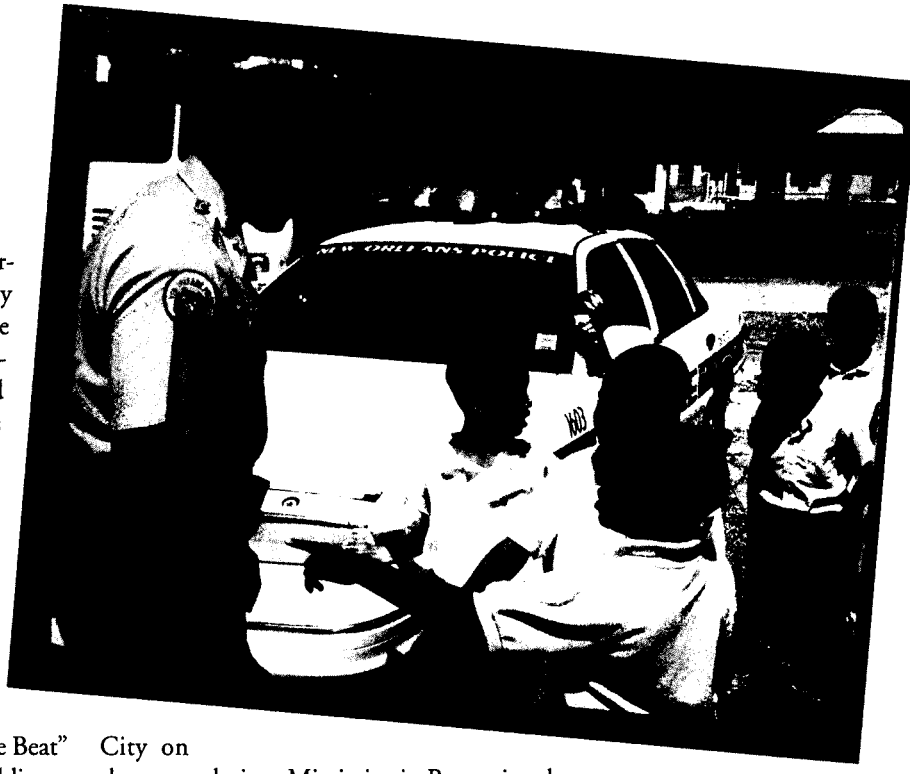

COMMUNITY COPS: Today New Orleans police have substations in neighborhoods and public housing developments. Besides catching criminals, their job is to engage with local residents to improve their lives.

electricity rate cut and dedicate the surplus funds to an immediate and badly needed police salary increase. The foundation also helps recruit high-quality police candidates locally and from around the country, and has upgraded the local police academy. It serves as a meeting grounds for disparate players in the reform process: the mayor's office, the city council, the police department, and federal law enforcement. "In the beginning, they were hardly talking to each other," says foundation director Terry Ebbert.

By sponsoring an annual "Walk the Beat" 5-K run and picnic for the general public — $15 gets you a T-shirt and an entry number — the foundation also raises discretionary funds for each district and burnishes the department's public image. Where he once lamented that "we were housing a lot of criminals in uniform," Ebbert now boasts: "The economic development department of the city wears a blue uniform."

Federal participation in New Orleans crime reduction included both money and people. Block grants of more than $2 million bought state-of-the-art computerized dispatching equipment, in-car computers, and modern ballistics testing and helped put officers into public housing projects under the Community-Oriented Policing Squad (COPS) program. For the first time ever, NOPD issued its officers Glock pistols. Before, they had been responsible for buying their own sidearms."Without the 1994 Clinton crime bill, we couldn't have done it," says Mayor Morial.

In addition, New Orleans became the first police department to invite — and get — two agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation into its ranks to help organize the Public Integrity unit, a rare example of intimate local-federal collaboration. "We changed the posture of the Justice Department and FBI from being on the sidelines to becoming partners," says Morial.

Not that everything is rosy in the Crescent City on the meandering Mississippi. By national standards, crime is still a major problem (with 34 murders per 100,000 residents, the murder rate is six times the national average and four times New York's). The first half of 2000 saw 120 murders, compared to 80 in the same period last year. Chief Pennington admits that while many battles have been won, the war has not. "There is still some corruption, some officers who think they can be involved in the drug trade and shakedowns, for instance." While such investigations continue, Pennington fears much of the success of the past six years could be undone by a single ugly incident such as those in recent years in New York. "It only takes one case to ruin your reputation," he says.

Still, New Orleans's young mayor rightly claims to have made huge strides in a city that once had a murder rate 15 times that of New York. And he did it with a comprehensive plan that ranged from summer recreation programs to police prosecutions and modern accountability, breaking the cycle of despair that often shrouded inner-city policing. "In the 1970s, people argued that crime was a sociological phenomenon and public policy couldn't impact it," says Morial. "But when you put all the pieces together, you can sell it to the people and they will support you. And we've done it the New Democrat way — we haven't shirked law enforcement." ■

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Why voters care about The Quality of Life

by Mark J. Penn

Sprawl, crime, congestion, too much sex on TV, and too little time with family — these are the issues that increasingly engage voters. Americans say they want help in balancing job and home, keeping their kids from watching the wrong shows, escaping the grind of endless commutes and dense traffic. They want open spaces, flex-time, and safety — including gun registration. Lawmakers would do well to listen.

A new constellation of issues is beginning to galvanize American voters. These quality-of-life issues, ranging from traffic and loss of green space to balancing work and family, and from crime and personal safety to violent and sexually explicit media, are the types of worries that many people deal with in their day-to-day lives.

We set out to explore these issues, their relevance to people's lives, and some potential policy solutions in a new national poll conducted for BLUEPRINT of 509 registered voters between June 10-13, 2000 (margin of error of +/- 4.4 percent, larger for subgroups).

The highlights of the survey include:

- Quality of life issues such as concern about the content of media, balancing work and family, crime and sprawl are important to Americans of all classes and walks of life — from Democrat to Republican, big city to small city, young to old.
- There is nearly universal concern about the violent and sexually explicit media that kids are exposed to every day, and American voters overwhelmingly support some form of voluntary or mandated standards, particularly for TV and the Internet.
- Initiatives aimed at balancing work and family, such as telecommuting, and overtime wages paid in time off, have considerable and growing appeal, particularly among women with kids, people with long commutes, and upper middle class workers.
- Even though parents feel their employers try to be accommodating, Americans are concerned about not spending enough time with their families. The top measure parents support to help provide this time is more flexible work hours, followed by on-site daycare.

Mark J. Penn is the president of Penn, Schoen and Berland Associates Inc., and the pollster to President Clinton.
Research and polling assistance provided by Jeff Epstein.

Full results of this poll can be found at http://www.ndol.org/blueprint.

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GETTING IT RIGHT: Texas has been faulted for not fighting sprawl. But the Dallas light rail line gets high marks as a step in the right direction.

- Alternative crime prevention policies and gun control receive strong bipartisan support. This includes the need for prisons to strike a balance between punishing prisoners and preparing them to return to society. To address gun violence, most voters prefer registration, licensing, trigger locks, and smart gun technology rather than relying solely on stricter enforcement while protecting the rights of gun owners.
- Sprawl is an issue that concerns most voters, and bipartisan majorities favor some limited government role in developing smart growth policies.
- Sprawl is viewed as a loss of green space more than anything else. Americans do not blame anything for the appearance of sprawl other than population growth and the desire of people to move farther away from cities.

A Note on the City / Suburb / Rural Breakouts in this Poll

In a poll about quality of life and sprawl issues, we wanted a finer level of detail than the standard city/suburb/rural distinctions. We were able to break the data up using *lifestyle codes* that classified each interview into one of 15 lifestyle and neighborhood clusters. For the purpose of maintaining statistical accuracy, these 15 clusters were ultimately grouped into five areas:

- **Major City:** Respondents living in the urban area of a major city
- **Big Metro Suburbs:** Respondents living in the suburbs of a major metro area
- **Small Metro City:** Respondents living in the urban area of a smaller city, or satellite/edge city
- **Small Metro Suburbs:** Respondents living in the suburbs of a smaller metro area
- **Rural:** Respondents living outside any city or suburbs

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The Poll

1. The Concerns

How do I protect my children from violence on TV?

With new episodes of youth violence appearing in the news seemingly every week, the level of concern about kids seeing violent and sexually explicit materials in the media has reached a dramatic level, and most Americans believe the government should play a role in helping control what kids see in the media.

Fully 78% are "very concerned" about the kinds of media children see, cutting across party lines. This concern is particularly acute among women and mothers — 85% say they are "very concerned."

Q: How concerned are you about children seeing violent and sexually explicit subject matter on TV, the Internet, movies, and video games?

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	Female w/ Kids	Male	Female
Very concerned	78	81	77	75	85	69	85
Somewhat concerned	13	12	13	15	8	16	10
Not very concerned	4	2	9	4	4	7	2
Not at all concerned	5	6	0	6	2	7	2

Americans are most concerned about violence on TV (45% most concerned) and on the Internet (28%), with movies and video games relatively less of a concern. Women with kids are even more concerned than voters overall about television — a 56% majority say it is their greatest area of concern when it comes to violent and explicit subject matter.

Q: Which of the following are you most concerned about for their violent and sexually explicit subject matter?

	All	Female w/ kids	Male	Female
TV	45	56	40	49
Internet	28	26	27	29
Video games	11	10	13	10
Movies	10	6	13	7
Don't know	7	2	8	5

Only 15% want the government to stay out of the issue completely, while 76% support some kind of voluntary or mandatory standards. The most popular approach is working with the media to adopt a universal rating system so parents have the information they need to control what their children see. Even among GenXers, who are closer in age to their childhood and less likely to have children, 75% favor some public action in this area.

Additionally, there is strong bipartisan support for an activist government role in helping control what kids see in the media. Thirty-seven percent of Republicans and 36% of Democrats support working with the media to develop ratings, while 22% of voters in each party favor imposing restrictions on what can be broadcast.

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Q: Which of the following do you think is the proper role for the government in helping control what children see on TV, the Internet, movies, and video games?

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	Female w/ Kids	GenX	Wired Workers
Working with the media to adopt a universal rating system so parents have the information they need to control what their children see	37	36	37	38	40	37	40
Imposing legal restrictions on what can be shown to children of different ages, and what can be broadcast when on TV	22	22	22	20	25	17	26
Encouraging the media to adopt voluntary standards for what can be shown to children of different ages	17	20	14	18	22	21	15
Staying out of the issue, because government interference in what is broadcast violates the First Amendment	15	14	17	15	9	22	9
Don't know	9	8	10	8	4	4	4

How do I balance work and family?

As jobs shift into the New Economy, another concern that confronts American workers is balancing work and family and the amount of time they get to spend with their families. Almost three in four (70%) voters who are married with children say this is a concern to them.

Q: How concerned are you that you don't get to spend enough time with your family? (among married with kids)

Very concerned	48
Somewhat concerned	22
Not very concerned	18
Not at all concerned	11
Don't know	1

It appears that many are feeling the pressure to work longer hours to earn more money. The biggest reasons cited for why people don't have enough time with family are work hours (49%) and an inflexible work schedule (23%).

Q: Which of the following is the biggest reason why you don't have enough time to spend with your family? (among married with kids)

Work hours	49
Inflexible work schedule	23
Length of commute	11
Travel too much	5
Others	4
Don't know	7

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Among married respondents with children under age 18 at home, nearly two-thirds of those interviewed are double income households, and nearly nine in ten (including over 80% of both men and women) would prefer it if one parent did not have to work outside the house full-time.

Q: Do both you and your spouse have a full-time job outside of the house?

	All (Married w/ Kids)	Male	Female
Yes	62	66	58
No	37	34	40
Don't know	1	0	2

Q: Would you prefer it if one parent did not have to work outside the house full time?

	All	Male	Female
Yes	85	87	84
No	12	13	12
Don't know	2	0	5

Despite these concerns, 80% of voters with children at home say their employer is very or somewhat accommodating to the need to balance work and family.

Q: How accommodating is your employer to the need to balance work and family?

	All (Kids Home)
Very accommodating	47
Somewhat accommodating	33
Not very accommodating	8
Not at all accommodating	8
Don't know	4

Parents with kids at home say a number of measures can help people balance work and family, with flex-time that would give workers more control over their hours and daycare facilities at the workplace receiving the most support. Both of these policies allow people to work the hours they feel they have to work to get by, while finding creative ways to spend more time with their kids.

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Q: Which of the following policies would be the best way to help you balance work and family?

	All (Kids Home)
Flex-time, or control over when you work	23
Daycare provided at job site	21
Comp-time, or time off for working overtime	12
Expanded family leave policies	10
Telecommuting	9
Extended paid maternity and paternity leave	8
Extended after hours child care through the public schools	7
Don't know	10

Another idea that was popular was giving employees the choice of getting their overtime paid either in wages or as time off, a concept that was supported by three in four. Women with kids, GenXers, and Wired Workers were each more likely to support such a proposal.

The appeal of taking overtime as time off is a growing one. While several years ago nearly 90% would have preferred higher wages, nearly a third now would prefer time off — a remarkable shift in public preference, particularly among groups which were more likely to favor time off such as women with kids, GenXers, wired workers, those with long commutes to work, and those with higher incomes.

Q: There is a proposal to allow hourly employees the choice of getting their overtime paid either in wages or as time off. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?

	All	Female w/ Kids	GenX	WW
Favor	75	83	84	80
Oppose	18	4	9	16
Don't know	8	3	6	4

Q: Which would you rather have?

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	Female w/ Kids	GenX	Long Commute	WW	Employed	$60K+
A pay increase	57	60	52	59	53	58	53	59	62	51
More free time out of work	32	26	39	33	41	40	44	39	34	45
Don't know	11	14	9	8	6	2	3	2	4	4

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Over a quarter of registered voters say they have at some point worked from home rather than going into the office, and four in ten (38%) say they are interested in telecommuting more. Interest in telecommuting is greatest among GenXers and those with long commutes (a majority of each group would like to telecommute more) as well as among those who live in or near major cities, women with kids, workers with income over $60K, and wired workers.

Q: Have you ever telecommuted to work, that is, worked from home instead of going into the office?

	All	Big Metro Subs	Major City	WW	Long Commute
Yes	27	31	34	32	39
No	73	66	66	68	61
Don't know	1	3	0	0	0

Q: Would you like to have the opportunity to telecommute more frequently, or not?

	All	Big Metro Subs	Major City	GenX	Long Commute	Female w/ Kids	$60K+	WW
Yes	38	46	47	51	58	49	47	45
No	55	49	47	45	40	48	49	50
Don't know	7	5	6	5	2	3	4	5

2. The country just isn't as safe as it used to be

Is crime going up or down?

While crime has gone down nationally, voters tend to say that crime has risen both in their area and nationally even though they also report that they personally feel safer now than they did several years ago.

People are more likely to say crime has increased nationally in the last few years (54% say crime is up nationally) than in their area (46% say crime is up in their area). Those who live in rural areas are more likely to say there is more crime both nationally (63%) and in their area (56%), while those who live in the inner suburbs are less likely to have perceived a jump in crime.

Women and older Americans are more likely to believe crime is on the rise. While 50% of GenXers say there is less crime in their area, 54% of matures (aged 54-72) say there is more crime now. Men are roughly evenly divided between those who believe crime has increased in the United States and those who say it has not decreased, but over six in ten women think it has increased. Less than half of GenXers say crime nationally is increasing, compared with a 53% majority of matures who hold this view.

Q: Is there more crime in your area than there was a few years ago, or less?

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	Rural	Big Metro Subs	GenX	Matures
More	46	45	48	44	56	31	31	53
Less	38	37	41	39	27	49	50	30
Don't know	16	17	11	18	16	21	19	17

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Q: Is there more crime in the United States than there was a year ago or less?

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	Rural	Big Metro Subs	GenX	Matures	Male	Female
More	54	57	52	51	63	45	45	53	45	62
Less	35	34	37	36	30	47	39	33	43	27
Don't know	11	9	11	13	7	7	16	14	11	11

How do Americans perceive their personal safety?

Although almost half (46%) say crime in their area is on the rise, 53% feel safer in their community than a few years ago.

Those in suburban areas are more likely to feel safer than are those in rural areas — 30% of those who live in the outer suburbs say they do not feel as safe in their communities as they did a few years ago, while 43% of rural residents feel less safe. Again, there is also a marked generation gap with over two-thirds of GenXers feeling safer in their communities than they did a few years ago (68%), while nearly half of matures (47%) do not feel as safe.

Q: Do you feel safer in your community than you did a few years ago, or not as safe?

	All	Rural	Big Metro Subs	GenX	Matures	Male	Female
Safer	53	46	63	68	44	59	48
Not as safe	36	43	30	15	47	32	39
Don't know	11	11	6	17	9	9	13

What can be done about gun violence?

On the issue of handguns and gun violence, a majority of voters embrace commonsense gun safety measures. Six in ten say that we should restrict access to handguns to reduce crime, while roughly a third agree that giving more law-abiding people access to guns would reduce crime. Over two-thirds of women with kids and those living in inner and outer suburbs agree with restricting access. An example of the power of the gun issue is exemplified by the split among two traditional foes of gun control, Republicans and rural voters, which split evenly between restricting access and allowing more law-abiding people to have guns.

Q: Some say that we need to restrict access to handguns to reduce crime. Others say that if more law-abiding people had guns, it would reduce crime. Which is closer to your view?

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	Rural	Big Metro Subs	Small Metro Subs	Female w/ kids
Restrict access to handguns	57	70	45	56	45	70	64	65
If more law abiding people had guns, would reduce crime	34	24	45	34	43	26	31	28
Don't know	9	6	11	10	12	3	5	7

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Likewise, the message of stricter enforcement while protecting the rights of gun owners fell short in the face of registration, licensing, trigger locks, and smart gun technology. Seven in ten favor one of these alternatives over stricter enforcement. Unlike Republican leaders, just as many Republican voters favor registration and licensing as favor better enforcement of current gun laws as the best way for the government to approach the issue of guns.

Q: Which is closest to your view on what the government should do on the issue of guns?

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	Big Metro Subs	Small Metro Subs	Rural	GenX	Female w/ Kids
Require all guns to be registered and gun owners to be licensed, and subjected to a background check	42	45	34	44	42	49	34	36	42
Encourage triggers locks and other smart technologies that prevent misuse of guns by children and other unauthorized people	29	32	25	31	29	32	31	41	38
Better enforce existing gun laws while protecting the rights of gun owners	23	17	35	19	20	17	27	19	18
Don't know	6	6	6	6	9	9	8	4	3

What can we do to fix our prison system and rehabilitate prisoners?

The sense that all Americans want to do to address crime is lock up criminals and throw away the key is not true anymore. When it comes to our corrections system, voters feel prisons should be equally focused on punishing prisoners and preparing them to return to society. Two-thirds hold this viewpoint, including half of Republicans, three-quarters of Democrats and nearly seven in ten Independents.

Q: *Some people say the primary purpose of prison should be to punish prisoners to deter crime. Others say that prison should be equally focused on punishing prisoners and preparing them to return to society as productive and law-abiding citizens. Which is closer to your view?*

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind
Primary purpose to punish and deter	30	22	44	28
Equally focused on punishing and preparing prisoners to return to society	65	75	51	68
Don't know	4	3	5	5

There is also bipartisan support for several wide-ranging crime proposals. Nine in ten (89%) support a stay-clean, stay-out policy for parolees to stay out of prison. Eight in ten (80%) support a national DNA databank for criminals, similar to the national fingerprint databank. And, albeit with a lower intensity of support, eight in ten (79%) also support allowing nonviolent offenders to do community based punishment rather than jail time. The high level of support for this suite of policies indicates people want to be tough on crime, but also view rehabilitation as important, and support using advances in DNA technology to assist future law enforcement efforts.

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Q: Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose this proposal?

	Strongly Support	Support / Oppose	Dem	Rep	Ind
Requiring people on parole to come in regularly for drug testing to stay out of prison — if they don't stay clean, they go back.	72	89/9	90/10	94/4	86/13
Starting a national DNA databank with DNA collected from all criminals, just as we collect fingerprints	60	80/16	82/15	81/16	80/17
Allowing nonviolent offenders to do community based punishment rather than serve time in prisons	45	79/18	84/13	76/23	81/20

How can we make the justice system tough but fair to all races?

Racial profiling is seen as a problem by three in four Americans, including over eight in ten Democrats and Independents, two-thirds of Republicans and 100% of African-Americans. Seven in ten say police should be prohibited from taking race into account when targeting people as suspects.

Q: Do you think racial profiling by police — in which police use race to determine who to stop and question — is a problem in the U.S. or not?

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	White	Black
Yes	75	82	63	80	72	100
No	18	15	26	14	20	0
Don't know	7	3	10	6	8	0

Q: Should police be prohibited from taking race into account when targeting people as suspects?

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	White	Black
Yes	69	77	60	71	66	90
No	27	19	38	26	30	10
Don't know	5	4	3	4	4	0

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COWS TO CONCRETE: A thin stand of trees temporarily shields an old farm from encroaching sprawl. Up to 30,000 acres of farmland are swallowed by suburban expansion every year even in a small state like Maryland.

3. Sprawl

My community is turning into one big parking lot!

While sprawl is not the type of dominant issue one hears about every day, it is an issue that resonates strongly with the electorate, among Democrats, Republicans, and Independents alike. About three in ten see it as a very important problem to them, and nearly six in ten say it is important.

Those who live in big metro areas are more likely to say sprawl is a very important concern than those who live in small metro areas are. In general, however, the importance of sprawl was relatively uniform regardless of where people lived, with the exception of people in rural areas, who were less likely to cite it as an important problem.

Q: Sprawl refers to the rapid growth and development of suburbs at the less populated and undeveloped edge of metropolitan areas. How important of a problem is sprawl to you?

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	Big Metro Area	Small Metro Area	Rural
Very important	30	34	27	30	37	27	29
Somewhat important	27	23	29	29	26	32	17
Not very important	19	20	21	18	19	18	20
Not at all important	18	19	17	18	15	17	25
Don't know	5	3	7	6	3	7	9

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Defining sprawl and understanding its causes.

Most voters say a loss of green space is the major problem with sprawl. Even for Republicans, less concerned with the environment than Democrats or Independents, loss of green space is tied with traffic as the biggest problem associated with sprawl.

In smaller metro cities, however, voters associate traffic and longer commutes almost equally with loss of green space as the top sprawl problem. In major cities, pollution is a more significant sprawl problem than in other areas.

Q: Which of the following is the biggest problem you associate with sprawl? 2nd biggest?

		1st and 2nd Choices Combined								
	1st Choice	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	Major City	Big Metro Subs	Small Metro city	Small Metro subs	Rural
Loss of green spaces, forests, and farmland	30	48	48	41	55	33	47	50	42	59
More traffic and longer commute times	21	38	37	41	37	41	40	45	40	21
More pollution and poor air quality	6	20	25	19	18	28	24	15	21	24
Increased costs for suburban governments to build new sewers, roads, and schools	6	10	12	9	8	10	9	11	11	11
Deterioration of cities and inner suburbs	5	12	6	11	17	8	12	11	8	16
Loss of a sense of neighborhood	4	9	9	6	10	10	7	10	16	5
Bigger distances between parents and children	4	9	11	13	7	15	4	8	5	15
Increased racial segregation	3	14	13	16	14	15	18	15	8	10
They all look the same	2	5	7	7	3	4	11	5	6	2
Other	2	5	5	9	3	5	6	4	5	6
All of the above	2	3	3	1	4	5	3	1	4	3
None / No problems	2	3				0	5	1	5	3
Don't know	12	23				23	14	22	31	24

When defining sprawl, however, most voters view it in terms of a loss of green space — this is the major problem people associate with sprawl. In smaller cities and their suburbs, however, voters associate traffic and longer commutes almost equally with loss of green space as the top sprawl problem. In major cities, pollution is a more significant sprawl problem than in other areas.

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Q: What are the biggest causes of sprawl?

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind
People wanting to move further away from the city	23	24	23	22
Population growth	16	13	17	18
People wanting less crime	8	7	9	8
Booming economy	7	6	6	8
Cheaper costs of land	6	4	6	8
People wanting better schools	4	3	5	4
People wanting to avoid traffic	3	2	5	4
No cause — it is normal growth	3	3	4	2
Government policies encourage it	2	4	2	1
Lack of planning	2	4	0	1
Don't know	16	20	14	14
Other	10	11	10	9

A majority support local controls on growth of sprawl.

Voters generally support a local government role in limiting the growth of sprawl — but when it is viewed as blocking people from living where they want to live, support for such policies drops. Majorities (52%) do think their local government should impose controls aimed at limiting the growth of sprawl. Republicans are split on the issue, while Independents and Democrats favor local government growth controls. Those who have long commutes of more than 30 minutes a day are very supportive of this principle — two-thirds of them support some sort of controls.

Q: Do you think your local government should impose controls aimed at limiting the growth of sprawl, or not?

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	Small City Subs	Wired Workers	Commute 30+ mins	$35-$59K
Yes	52	55	45	54	56	57	66	51
No	39	37	47	36	37	37	26	40
Don't know	9	8	8	11	7	6	7	9

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Growth plans receive strong support.

Additionally, nearly three in four (74%) support state growth plans to concentrate development in already developed areas, including 72% of Republicans. Those who live in big metro areas are more likely to support such plans than the overall population because such plans are more likely to affect them. In particular, rural voters, who are less concerned about sprawl, while still supportive, are slightly less enthusiastic of government growth plans.

Q: Some states have adopted growth plans that seek to concentrate development in already developed areas in order to limit sprawl and preserve open spaces. Do you...

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	Big Metro Subs	Major City	Rural	$35-$59K
Strongly support	31	34	24	34	22	39	34	29
Somewhat support	43	41	48	42	59	40	34	50
Somewhat oppose	11	13	15	7	10	10	16	8
Strongly oppose	10	6	8	14	6	6	11	9
Don't know	5	5	5	3	2	5	5	4

It also follows from the perception of sprawl as a "lack of green space" problem that nearly two-thirds (63%) support the government spending tax dollars to buy land to preserve open spaces, including 67% of Independents and 56% of Republicans.

Q: Do you...government spending tax dollars to buy land to preserve open spaces from development?

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	WW
Strongly support	38	40	25	45	39
Somewhat support	25	23	31	22	28
Somewhat oppose	12	16	12	9	10
Strongly oppose	22	18	29	20	20
Don't know	3	2	3	4	2

Despite the overwhelming support for smart growth, Americans are not certain that steering growth is worth the price of restricting people from living in certain areas. Spelled out this way, support for the government steering growth turns to ambivalence. Forty-six percent say it is better to continue to allow growth in undeveloped areas if people want to live there, while 40% think it is better to steer growth to already developed areas. Interestingly, there is not significant variation on this issue based on where people live. However, certain groups that remain supportive of a government role in regulating growth are those who have long commutes (46% support steering growth, 33% allowing growth in undeveloped areas), and wired workers (49/39%).

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Q: Do you think that it is better to continue to allow growth in undeveloped areas if people want to live there, or to steer growth to already developed areas?

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	Long Commute	WW
Allow growth in undeveloped areas	46	43	49	45	33	39
Steer growth	40	41	36	43	46	49
Both	7	9	10	4	15	9
Don't know	7	7	5	8	6	2

Why am I always stuck in traffic?

While loss of green space was the major problem associated with sprawl, traffic was the second biggest problem. When asked how much impact traffic congestion and transportation problems had on their daily lives, those who live closer to major metropolitan areas were much more likely to report a large impact.

Q: How much of an impact do traffic congestion and transportation problems have on your daily life?

	All	Major City	Big Metro Subs	Rural	Long Commute
A large impact	30	45	40	19	64
A small impact	42	37	45	34	21
No impact	27	17	14	46	15
Don't know	0	0	1	1	0

4. Global Climate Change

Additionally, climate change is seen as an important concern — 54% say it is or could be a very important issue, including 60% of Independents and GenXers. Although many Republican leaders dismiss concerns over global warming, 68% of Republicans in this survey say climate change and global are important problems, or could be in the future.

Q: How important of a problem do you think climate change and global warming is or could be in the future?

	All	Dem	Rep	Ind	GenX
Very important	54	55	45	60	60
Somewhat important	22	24	23	20	21
Not very important	9	9	11	7	8
Not at all	13	8	20	12	11
Don't know	3	5	1	1	0

Contributing Photographers: AP/Worldwide Photos – 27,28,33,39,44,47,61,75,84, / Corbis Images – 4,6,13,19,29,35,41,69, / FPG – 37,48, / Globe – 63, / Image Bank – 20, / Impact Visuals – 30, / Magnum – Thomas Hoepker 64, / Nonstock – Chuck Bradley Inside Cover, / Photodisc – 36,42,68, / Photonica – 58,Cover, / Kate Rader – 11, / Sierra Club – 43,54,55, / Tony Stone – 8,67, / Utah Travel Council – Frank Jensen 26.

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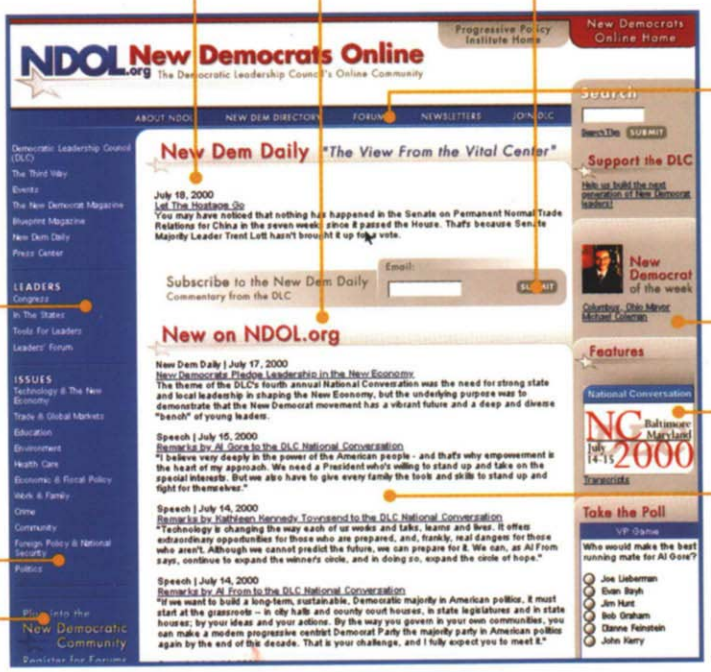
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Let The Hostages Go
You may have noticed that nothing has happened in the Senate on Permanent Normal Trade Relations for China in the seven weeks since it passed the House. That's because Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott hasn't brought it up for a vote.
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New Democrats Pledge Leadership in the New Economy
The theme of the DLC's fourth annual National Conversation was the need for strong state and local leadership in shaping the New Economy, but the underlying purpose was to demonstrate that the New Democrat movement has a vibrant future and a deep and diverse "bench" of young leaders.
Speech | July 15, 2000
Remarks by Al Gore to the DLC National Conversation
"I believe very deeply in the power of the American people - and that's why empowerment is the heart of my approach. We need a President who's willing to stand up and take on the special interests. But we also have to give every family the tools and skills to stand up and fight for themselves."
Speech | July 14, 2000
Remarks by Kathleen Kennedy Townsend to the DLC National Conversation
"Technology is changing the way each of us works and talks, learns and lives. It offers extraordinary opportunities for those who are prepared, and, frankly, real dangers for those who aren't. Although we cannot predict the future, we can prepare for it. We can, as Al From says, continue to expand the winner's circle, and in doing so, expand the circle of hope."
Speech | July 14, 2000
Remarks by Al From to the DLC National Conversation
"If we want to build a long-term, sustainable, Democratic majority in American politics, it must start at the grassroots -- in city halls and county court houses, in state legislatures and in state houses; by your ideas and your actions. By the way you govern in your own communities, you can make a modern progressive centrist Democrat Party the majority party in American politics again by the end of this decade. That is your challenge, and I fully expect you to meet it."
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